NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Fifty Years Ago and Today
Editorial

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Webb Waldron

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Governor Ellis Arnall

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Tess Loeb

New Task for a Legislature
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Federal Property Surplus a Postwar Problem
H. M. Olmsted

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

Officers 'Frozen' for Duration

The Nominating Committee appointed by the chairman of the Council in accordance with a resolution adopted October 25, 1943, by the League's Executive Committee met in New York on December 8, 1943.

Members were Richard S. Childs (*ex-officio* as chairman of the Council), Frederick L. Bird, James W. Clise, Arnold Frye, John S. Linen, and Carl H. Pforzheimer.

After deciding, pursuant to the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee, that it would be inappropriate in view of wartime travel curtailments to hold a meeting of the Council, the Committee voted, on motion of Mr. Frye, to request all officers and members of the Council to continue to serve until it is possible to hold a meeting of the membership after the war. The Committee decided that this would, in effect, move the calendar forward so that those officers and Council members whose terms would normally expire this year would retire when the next membership meeting is held and that the terms of other Council members would be moved forward proportionately.

Three Nominated for Council

To fill three existing vacancies in the Council, the Committee nominated the following:

Charles Edison, president and director of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and Governor of New Jersey, who retired from the governorship at the close of 1943 (constitutional restrictions prevent a New Jersey governor from succeeding himself). Former Assistant Secretary and Secretary of the Navy, Governor Edison was a leader of the recent successful campaign to bring about the revision of the New Jersey constitution.

Berry Fleming, author and civic leader of Augusta, Georgia. Author of the best seller, *Colonel Effingham's Raid,* which is based on an effort to end political corruption in a southern city, Mr. Fleming is also founder and president of the Augusta Citizens Union.

Wilson W. Wyatt, Mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, lawyer, teacher, and civic leader. Mayor Wyatt, who last year visited North Africa as special representative of the Board of Economic Warfare, is a member of the Board of Trustees and Chairman of the Postwar Planning Committee of the American Municipal Association, member of the Advisory Board of the United States Conference of Mayors, president and director of the Kentucky Municipal League, and president of the American Society of Planning Officials.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY,
Executive Secretary

League Chosen for Cincinnati Survey

The Consultant Service of the National Municipal League has been retained by The Stephen H. Wilder Foundation of Cincinnati to make a brief study, starting at once, of the condition of the government of that city. The principal purpose of the survey will be to bring up-to-date the complete survey of 1924 made under the direction of Dr. Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research, which preceded Cincinnati's adoption of the council-manager plan and the proportional representation method of electing its city council.

The survey will provide: (1) a com-

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Fifty Years Ago and Today

FIFTY years ago this month there gathered in Philadelphia a group of leaders of local civic organizations which, for the most part, had sprung up comparatively recently as a result of the low ebb of public affairs in our cities.

The meeting, as the first "National Conference for Good City Government," was called by a group of 97 distinguished civic leaders including Charles Francis Adams, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles J. Bonaparte, Carl Schurz, Charles W. Eliot, Richard T. Ely, Frederick Law Olmstead, Marshall Field, and William J. Gaynor. It was attended by delegates from organizations which bore such names as city club, good government club, reform club, civic club, municipal league, citizens league, public discussion league, and taxpayers association. The variety of names was of no significance; all were united, first, in the conviction that evil city government was making a mockery of self-government and, second, in the determination to work together in a nation-wide movement for better local government.

The group included "the most distinguished business men, educators, lawyers, journalists, and clergymen," according to the introduction to the published proceedings. They "filled to the utmost capacity the gallery of the Art Club" and "received with enthusiasm" the formal papers, addresses, and discussions on the program.

Their enthusiasm was only natural. On the program were many of the prominent citizens and the brilliant minds of the day. And much of what was said on January 25 and 26, 1894, concerning the problems of a self-governing democracy could be said with equal force and significance today.

There was special emphasis on the responsibility of good citizens to participate in local affairs. James C. Carter, a leading member of the New York bar, who presided, sounded the keynote of the meeting when he said:

"I hail the impulse which has brought us together as the sure evidence of a renewal in our minds of the sense and consciousness of our public duties as citizens. It means to me a conviction on our part that, while our patriotism should extend to and embrace the remotest parts of our land, yet it should begin and find its principal source of action at home. It means, I think, a conviction that our city governments and the great interests which are confided to them are everywhere subjected to the mismanagement of ignorance and surrendered to the rapacity of spoil seekers, and this is in large part the consequence of our own apathy. It means, I think, a conviction that if we would have our cities well governed we must give to them something of the same attention we devote to our homes. It means a conviction that a large part of the evils

which beset us in national politics are engendered and aggravated by the corruption of municipal politics, and the time has arrived when we should rescue our city governments and the trusts reposed in them from the domination of those interests which control national politics. I hail this movement as indicative of a rissing tide of civic patriotism. Let us hope it may swell to a flood which may reach all the cities of our government, and carry with it a beneficent influence."

* * *

George Burnham, Jr., president of the Municipal League of Philadelphia which was host to the conference, said, in welcoming the delegates: "I do not know, gentlemen, what sovereign remedies you may have brought in your gripsacks for the evils we are here to discuss, but this I do believe, that none of them can succeed that are not based upon such an awakening of the public conscience as shall lead our citizens to give the same serious attention to their political duties that they now grant their business, church, and social obligations."

The "sovereign remedies" were many. Carl Schurz, who was "greeted with great applause and cheers," advocated civil service reform. Mrs. Mary E. Mumford advocated greater influence on municipal affairs by the American woman and, looking a quarter-century into the future, said: ". . .nor am I unaware that the municipal ballot is slowly creeping across the country from the plains of the West, and that it will, for good or evil, soon be in her hands."

W. Harris Roome, who represented "Good Government Club, A" of New York, spoke on "The Separation of Municipal from Other Elections." Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, of Columbus, Ohio, urged greater influence of public opinion on officials in office, saying, "If every man whose convictions on this subject were sound and clear would speak his mind about it, openly and bravely, to his neighbors, to the newspapers, to the officers of the law, the evil would be swept from sight in a week's time.

Edwin D. Mead of Boston urged specific training for citizenship in schools, public forums, libraries, and churches. Rev. Dr. James E. Ecob of Albany, New York, advocated more "politics in the pulpit" and demanded: "What right have you and I to suffer a generation of citizens to grow up under the powerful object lessons of filthy, ill-kept streets, slipshod, knavish public works, official corruption and malfeasance flaunted in every paper, saloons out-numbering Christian institutions twenty to one, civic office fallen so low that it is spurned by self-respecting men? I tell you the young man who runs that gauntlet and retains his integrity has saved his citizenship 'as by fire,' and with shame I add, no thanks to the church."

Alfred Bishop Mason, of the Civil Service Reform Association, advocated primary elections. Samuel B. Capen, president of the Boston Municipal League, advocated independent voting, discussed the possible application of proportional representation to municipal elections, and said: "We must meet combinations of evil

with combinations of good, and we must have some staying qualities in these organizations. . . The machine which controls in so many of the cities of this country is going to be defeated only by an organization which is persistent, fearless, and unselfish. And there is all the difference in the world between such a league and a machine—one has moral convictions, the other has none."

Charles Richardson of Philadelphia advocated municipal parties independent of the national political parties. Other delegates described the governmental and civic condition of their own cities and Dr. Leo S. Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania spoke on the subject, "City Government as It Should Be and May Become."

* * *

Toward the close of the conference, in order to establish a central clearing house of information and guidance and to exercise a cohesive force, the first steps were taken to organize the National Municipal League. The following resolution was adopted:

> *Whereas,* The elements brought together in this Conference should not be allowed to separate without providing some permanent agency for continuing its work, and promoting the comparison of views, the exchange of experiences, the discussion of methods, and that mutual confidence and sympathy which adds so much to the strength and enthusiasm of fellow workers in a great cause; it is therefore
>
> *Resolved,* That the president of this Conference is requested to appoint a representative committee of seven to prepare a plan for the organization of a National Municipal League, which shall be composed of associations formed in American cities and having as an object the improvement of municipal government. Upon the completion of the plan and its approval by such associations, or as many of them as the said committee may deem necessary, the committee shall declare the proposed league to be fully organized and prepared to enter upon its work.

The National Municipal League was formally established by the organizing committee the following May. At least each year since then —until the federal government requested the curtailment of conventions during the present war—it has called other conferences, national and regional, in various cities which have been attended by civic leaders, business men, educators, journalists, clergymen, and serious-minded citizens.

The annual meeting has become known as the "National Conference on Government." Through these conferences, its model laws and administrative systems and other publications including the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, its guides to practical citizen action on the local scene, its stimulation of the teaching of government and citizenship in schools and colleges, and by many other methods, the League has constantly sought to meet the challenge held forth at that original meeting.

Municipal affairs most certainly have improved tremendously during this half century; but to how many cities and to how many good citizens of today would the 50-year-old challenge still apply?

Win or Lose

DISCUSSING the recent defeat of an effort in Beatrice, Nebraska, to adopt the council-manager form of government, the writer of a letter made a significant point.

After mentioning that "we have the commission type of government and each of the three commissioners had his organization working against the plan for all it was worth," and that the campaign was marked by name-calling, attempts to turn "class against class," and by claims that the council-manager plan is a "dictatorship," the correspondent wrote:

"We thank you for your assistance and feel that, although the election failed, it did stimulate civic thinking more than anything that has happened in a good many years. As a matter of fact, it has already improved the government here."

This is an almost unfailing result of campaigns for the adoption of the council-manager plan. Win or lose, they stir people to a clearer understanding of local affairs and to a stronger desire to participate in them. And those are two of this country's greatest needs. People can have as good government as they demand or as bad government as they will tolerate. Indifference and lack of voter participation are almost sure to produce a pretty inferior grade of government.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 2)

parison of the condition of Cincinnati's government today with that of 1924, (2) an evaluation of change or progress during the twenty years since the Upson report and the principal reasons therefor, and (3) a forecast of Cincinnati's future governmental problems and recommendations in connection with them.

Dr. Thomas H. Reed, former director of the League's Consultant Service and noted authority on municipal affairs, has been chosen to direct the survey.

In a statement announcing the survey, Captain Victor Heintz, chairman of The Stephen H. Wilder Foundation, said:

"How far have we really come since 1924? What weaknesses and abuses disclosed by the Upson report have been corrected and which have not? What are the weaknesses and faults, old and new, which exist today? What should be done about them? Is Cincinnati actually 'the best governed city in America,' as is sometimes claimed; is it 'one of the best governed'; or is it poorly governed in the light of accepted standards?

"Citizens of any community, in order to perform their vital function of voting intelligently in a self-governing society, must have before them facts uncolored by the prejudices or self-interest of competing groups."

Dr. Reed, who is municipal government counsellor for the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, was a member of the staff of the 1924 Cincinnati survey.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The Mayor Gets Things Done

Louisville's chief executive, Wilson Wyatt, reduces city debt, tackles city-county problems, and launches postwar planning association to prepare for peacetime adjustment.

By WEBB WALDRON

WILSON WYATT, youthful mayor of Louisville, is above all a salesman. His commodity is good government instead of real estate or stocks. He has sold the metropolis of Kentucky, population 400,000, such a substantial bill of goods that a prominent old-line Republican —Wyatt is a Democrat — said: "Wyatt is the most brilliant young man ever in public life in this town."

Wyatt is so passionately devoted to good government that at 34 he gave up an income of $30,000 a year as a corporation lawyer to take the mayor's job at $5,000.

When he came into office two years ago he had certain definite things in mind. He saw the absurdity of separate city and county governments. The thing exists all over the U. S. A big city dominates a county; double functions go on side by side. In Louisville there were, for instance, a City Health Department, a County Health Department, and a public TB hospital for both city and county—each with its own staff of doctors and nurses, its separate planning, buying.

People said that city-county consolidation was impossible. Bills authorizing it had to be pushed through the state legislature, and Kentucky is predominantly rural. Besides, the Louisville legislators themselves had never pulled together. Since the city's delegation was divided on its own program, its effort always fumbled. Wyatt's first move was to get the delegation of legislators representing Louisville solidly behind his city-county program.

Wyatt also went on the air. "Wyatt," said Mark Ethridge, publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, "has the faculty of exciting people about local issues that have always seemed dull. It was something to hear people arguing passionately about a county hospital. Nothing like it had ever happened in this town before." So Wyatt's bill for the consolidation of health services passed despite bitter opposition. Now there is one health officer for city and county—Dr. Hugh Leavell, hero of the '37 Louisville flood, one medical and nursing staff. Dr. Leavell has a new Health Center. Efficiency of all medical work has increased. The TB hospital has just acquired a new wing for Negro patients. Vindicating Wyatt, the American Public Health Association and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce put Louisville on the National Health Honor Roll for the first time.

Louisville, like many other American cities, was grossly under-represented in the state legislature. The state had never been redistricted. Why, Wyatt asked, should 157,000 of the people of Louisville be totally without voice in state affairs? An injustice, true enough, but everybody

predicted that Wyatt's redistricting drive would fail as others had, because for Louisville to gain members many rural counties must lose. He sent out 1,000 letters to prominent citizens throughout the state. "We fought the American Revolution over the principle of rightful representation," he said. "Can we afford to go back on that principle in Kentucky?" He went on the air in the same vigorous vein. When the session was called the measure went through. Wyatt had sold democracy to Kentucky. Louisville today has a fairer representation in the state legislature than any other large U. S. city.

Louisville's dynamic young mayor is tall, long-legged, a nifty dresser, but certainly no Apollo. He's blessed with outsize ears and is beginning to lose his hair. He is a man with an engaging rapid-fire voice frequently punctuated by a belly-laugh, a good companion, a bear for work, at his desk till late at night many a day in the week. A local bard pictures Wyatt's lovely and lonely wife, moaning:

> Wilson, dear Wilson, come home to me now,
> The City Hall clock's striking four,
> You were here, I remember, the first of September
> But you don't come around any more.

Early in 1942 Louisville had its first blackout test. The mayor went on the air to explain it. He wanted the talk repeated, so he had an electrical transcription made. That evening, relaxing at home in an armchair, he turned on the transcription. A little later his wife and some friends came into the room. There was the speech rolling out full and clear and there was Wilson Wyatt fast asleep. Next day he told the story on himself. Local newspapers printed it, the AP spread it, it got into *Time* and *The Reader's Digest*, a Boston newspaper cartooned it. The story still follows Wyatt from place to place—even in Algiers, a puzzled Frenchman asked him to explain the joke—"the spellbinder who put himself to sleep," and still Louisville laughs, not *at* Wyatt but *with* him.

Studies Law

Wyatt says that, even as a kid, he wanted to be a lawyer because successful lawyers seemed to play an important rôle in the world. After a year at the University of Louisville he got a job as clerk in the Louisville and Nashville railway offices, studying law at night. He was graduated from the law school at 21 and his rise in the profession was rapid.

In 1937, when he was 31, Democratic leaders first urged him to run for mayor. He declined. "Well, I was sorry afterward," he says. "When they came at me again, early in '41, I jumped to it."

He could have had a prominent appointment in Washington, "but," he said, "I thought that anybody launching out in public life ought to run the gauntlet of an election."

One explanation of Wyatt's success lies in his habit of seeking expert help. War industry swelled Louisville's population by 100,000; nearby Fort Knox with its 60,000 soldiers brought a deluge of camp-followers to Louisville; the Fort Knox venereal rate jumped to double the army-

camp average. The Police Department lost 25 per cent of its trained men to the armed forces and the law enforcement situation showed signs of getting out of hand. Wyatt, through the Public Administration Service, got hold of O. W. Wilson, national expert on police affairs. Wilson advised a complete streamlining of the department. One basic recommendation was a vice squad which has cracked down on prostitution. As a direct result of Louisville's vigorous measures the venereal rate at Fort Knox has dropped from 25 per 1,000 men to two per 1,000—a fraction of the national army-camp average.

For chief of police, Wyatt picked the best man he could find in the ranks. He happened to be a Republican. This brought a howl from the Democratic stalwarts. "Aren't you a Democrat?" they demanded. "I am working for the best interests of Louisville," said Wyatt.

Tackles School Problem

The city government and the school board, a nonpartisan body, had always stood aloof from one another. Not enemies, but certainly not coöperative. Wyatt felt that the people should know more about their own schools on which they spent $4,000,000 a year. He proposed a survey of the whole educational system by outside experts. The board agreed. The survey recommended several important changes. One of these, already in effect, is equal salaries for men and women and for white and Negro teachers. Another, to be carried out after the war, is an enlargement of the Negro high school.

Since Negroes form a large segment of the population, contributing to the city in taxes, Wyatt felt they should have a real share in public affairs. So, defying tradition in this semi-southern city, he has appointed Negroes to the mayor's legislative committee, the library board, the defense council, war fund committees.

Recently, Wyatt and his staff discovered that $2,500,000 worth of hotels, garages, and business blocks owned by churches and charitable institutions were not on the tax rolls. The easiest way would have been to let the thing ride as previous administrations had done. Wyatt felt that, since this property competed with other commercial property, it should pay taxes, and told the Tax Department to put the property on the rolls. There was bitter opposition and the matter is now in the courts. Meantime, several of the owners have voluntarily begun to pay taxes.

He set up a priorities committee to screen city and county requests for critical materials. "The whole purpose of the committee," he said, "is to find out not what the community can get but what it can do without." Many other cities have adopted this Louisville priorities plan.

Under Wyatt the city has begun to pay off its debt for the first time in many years. Recently the city burned its City Hall bonds. It had been paying interest on them since 1875!

"Oh, I wanted to get the best box at the Kentucky Derby," Wyatt used

to say facetiously when friends asked him why in the world he had taken on a mayor's worries. But last spring for the first time in Louisville history the mayor wasn't at the Derby. News of Wyatt's skill as an administrator had percolated to Washington; the Board of Economic Warfare asked him to take on a special organization and trouble-shooting job in North Africa. He was gone three months—all he could spare from his job.

Leo Crowley, head of Foreign Economic Administration, and the State Department have both asked Wyatt recently to take other overseas assignments. Wyatt said: "I can't. My job is here." OWI asked him to lecture briefly in England this coming spring on American local government. He said: "The idea is terribly tempting. But I'm not at all sure I can go."

In the November 1943 election the Republican candidates for aldermen were swept into office. Immediately they pledged Wyatt their support in carrying out his program for the remaining two years of his term. They are keeping the pledge. "If they didn't," said a prominent Republican, "they'd give our party the biggest black eye it ever had in this town."

That pledge represents the spirit of Louisville. Louisville knows a good thing when it sees it.

In Kentucky an elected officer can't succeed himself. "So," said Wyatt, "I haven't had any temptation to try to build myself up for re-election." But the next two years are going to be busy ones for Wilson Wyatt. Just now he's tackling the biggest job of his career. He believes that bridging the gap between wartime boom and peacetime prosperity should begin right now in practical aggressive action. Communities shouldn't look to federal aid. They should do the job themselves—the local government and the people, working together. "In our cities and towns," says Wyatt, "we shape the destiny of the nation, here we educate our children, provide for health and sanitation, build our homes, worship in our churches, develop our culture. It is here we must plan our way of life following this war."

Looking Ahead

Conversion of wartime plants to peacetime business, getting raw materials for them, markets for the output, conversion of blighted city areas to parks, a new city hall, a municipal stadium, new schools—those are some of the things that Louisville plans for.

To do the job, the Louisville Area Development Association has just been launched. It had been decided that to carry on for two years the Association needed $100,000. The idea was to tackle the banks, factories, business houses, newspapers. "But," asked Wyatt, "Where does labor come in on this? This is the job of the whole community." He went to union headquarters. "We want you," he said to the secretary of the State Federation of Labor, "to be one of the incorporators of the Association and we want union labor to contribute $10,000."

The secretary called in the heads

(Continued on Page 13)

25 Study Georgia Basic Law

Small group chosen by Legislature, Governor, and Courts tackles problem of bringing state's constitution up to date; will submit its report to General Assembly in 1945.

By ELLIS ARNALL
Governor of Georgia

FUNDAMENTALS of government do not change. The obligation of democratic government is to protect the lives, liberties, and property of the citizens.

But methods of government change with changed conditions, with the changes in services desired and required by the citizens.

State constitutions, all too frequently, have been written with such minute detail as to administrative procedures that adaptation to new conditions has been difficult. Few state constitutions in the United States possess the flexibility of the federal constitution.

The constitution of Georgia has proved no exception to the rule. It has been amended 296 times since its adoption in 1877. These amendments were made necessary because of the inflexible provisions of the original instrument, especially in those sections dealing with municipalities and other local self-government units.

Probably it is desirable that state constitutions be more rigid than the federal instrument, since state legislatures are in session less frequently than the Congress and since the federal constitution does not have to deal with the varied problems of the counties and municipalities. This rigidity, however, has resulted in frequent rewritings of state constitutions.

In Georgia, for example, the constitution of 1877 is the seventh since the Revolution. Previous constitutions were adopted in 1777, 1789, 1798, 1861, 1865, and 1868.

The Georgia constitution of 1877 was written just after the state was freed from "carpetbag rule" and was affected profoundly by the misfortunes of the Reconstruction era. Restrictions upon local self-government units were written into it to prevent the reckless issuing of bonds that characterized the irresponsible "carpetbag governments."

A majority of the 296 amendments to the Georgia constitution deal with local problems. Twelve of those submitted in 1943 were local in nature, several permitting perfectly normal refinancing of local bonds at lower interest rates.

While local problems have given rise to many amendments, another prominent reason for frequent amending of the constitution has been demand for new or additional services by the state government.

Amendments providing for the public assistance program, public health agencies, and additional educational facilities have been engrafted on the constitution from year to year.

The changes have been so numerous and so frequent that it has been inevitable that the document should become cumbersome and that some

sections have not been in harmony with others, so that frequent resort to judicial interpretation has been required.

The Georgia constitution of 1877, however, together with its 296 amendments, represents the type of government that Georgians wish for their state, on the whole. They do not wish or need a radical revision of the constitution, but they do need and wish the instrument revised and rewritten to meet changed conditions and to harmonize its provisions.

Commission Appointed

For that reason, when the General Assembly of 1943 took up this problem, the legislators decided against a constitutional convention to draft a new constitution. They determined upon a policy of revision through a commission, whose findings could be reported to the 1945 Assembly for adoption and submission to the Georgia voters.

The Commission was selected in such a way as to give complete representation to all groups. The presiding officers of the State Senate and House of Representatives named some members. Others were named *ex officio,* as the Governor, the Attorney General, and the State Auditor. The two appellate courts of Georgia each named a member. Finally, the Governor was empowered to name two Superior Court judges and certain lay and legal members. Altogether, the Commission has 25 members.

The Commission, after its organization session, determined upon five committees to study carefully the main subdivisions of the constitution and to submit redrafts to the full body.

As the various committees submit their findings, the full body will consider them, adopting or rejecting the various proposals, and, when the final text is adopted, the complete report will be submitted to the General Assembly of Georgia when it convenes in 1945. If the legislative branch of the state government approves the revised constitution, it will be submitted to the people of the state for ratification.

The advantages of revision of a state constitution by a commission rather than by a constitutional convention are many. More time can be spent upon preliminary work. The various sections can be "dovetailed together" more harmoniously. The members, not being held in continuous session, have greater opportunity to reflect upon the problems.

Of course, if the problem were one of determining upon fundamental policies of government, such as would be involved in the writing of a wholly new instrument, the commission method would be undesirable and, perhaps, impractical. But where the task is one of practical revision, where the problems are technical rather than political in nature, the commission seems to present the best method of obtaining an instrument acceptable to the people.

The Georgia Commission on Constitutional Revision has determined upon one policy, definitely.

The revised constitution will be as short as possible, expressed in language of the greatest clarity, as

simple as it can be made, and thoroughly understandable.

Problem of Simplification

One of the greatest problems of American democracy is that of simplifying all our governments, from the sprawling federal establishment to the smallest local unit. Good government cannot exist when its operations are masked in mystery.

Only when the people can understand fully the operations of every agency toward the support of which they pay taxes, only when the rights granted to governmental units and the services required from them are expressed in unmistakable and simple terms, can popular government be effective.

How often state constitutions require revision to maintain this simplicity and clarity depends, of course, upon how often the public served by state governments demands or needs new types of service. Many of the men who wrote the earliest state constitutions in America and who left their imprints indelibly upon the structure of our local and national governments believed that such instruments should be resubmitted to the people every generation, or about every quarter-century.

It is improbable that these men failed to recognize the secondary perils of instability and change in government; it is more probable that they recognized more completely than do we the primary perils of government becoming divorced from the citizens whose creature it is.

THE MAYOR GETS THINGS DONE

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of the various local labor unions. Wyatt turned loose his salesmanship. He said: "It isn't only a question of insuring steady future employment for labor in this community, but of making Louisville a better place to live in for you and your children."

"My gosh," said one labor man after he had listened for a while, "ten thousand dollars! That seems a small amount! Don't you want us to give more than that?" The head of the building trades spoke up: "Why, we'll contribute the whole ten thousand ourselves! We fellows who build things stand to benefit by this program most of all." Wyatt laughed: "No, ten thousand is all we want from labor just now. If we want more later, we'll come back."

Recently Wyatt told: "If we can get this plan really into action in the next two years of my term, I'll go out of office feeling I have done something vital and lasting for my town."

He'll get it into action, I bet my bottom dollar.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Constitution by Convention

"Brevity in discourse and discussions, brevity in time, and brevity in the document which shall be submitted to the people," keynote of Missouri constitution delegates.

By TESS LOEB
Special Writer, St. Louis Star-Times

THE constitution of the state of Missouri provides for the submission of the question: "Shall there be a convention to revise and amend the constitution?" every twenty years, but express provision for the placing of it on the ballot is not made mandatory upon the Secretary of State. Anticipating that the political parties might be loath to take responsibility for submission of the question a group of civic-minded individuals laid plans for the organization of a Statewide Committee for Revision of the Constitution. A bill had been introduced in the General Assembly calling for a popular vote on the question but it was not reported out of committee.

During the sessions of the National Municipal League, which were held in St. Louis in November 1941, the Statewide Committee was organized at the final meeting—the emphasis of the program was on the subject of state constitutions and their revision. Former State Senator Allen McReynolds was elected chairman, and Stratford Lee Morton, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, was put in charge of the work to be done in St. Louis City and St. Louis County. For this auspicious start the Missouri Constitutional Convention owes a debt of gratitude to the National Municipal League.

A campaign to organize sentiment in support of the proposition was undertaken immediately upon the announcement by the Secretary of State that the call would be placed on the ballot in the 1942 general election. The proposition carried largely in the urban communities, in which most of the work had been done. At a special election called by the Governor on April 6, 1943, district delegates and delegates-at-large were chosen. The Missouri constitution provides for the nomination by the two major parties of one delegate in each of the 34 senatorial districts, thus making the nominations tantamount to election. Delegates-at-large are nominated by petitions. The Missouri League of Women Voters placed in nomination and made a vigorous campaign for fifteen delegates-at-large, of whom eight were later endorsed by both the Democratic and Republican State Committees. These eight were among those elected.

The Convention met on Tuesday, September 21, 1943, and organized with great dispatch, although no official preliminary program of organization had been effected. Twenty years ago a Missouri Constitutional Convention was held but the voters rejected the 15 most important of the 21 amendments because of the delay in organization, the long period during which it had remained in session, and the great expense incurred. The Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis published and distributed a pamphlet among the new members

listing the reasons for the failure of the 1922-23 convention as given by its members. Delegates to the present Convention seem to have used those reasons as guideposts for their conduct; and in the organization of the Convention, as well as in its procedure, they have endeavored to follow the keynote announced by the President in his inaugural address: "Brevity in discourse and discussions, brevity in time, and brevity in the document which shall be submitted to the people."

Speedy Organization

On the first day the Convention passed on credentials of delegates, elected its principal officers, and appointed committees to arrange for rooms, seating, employees, and necessary services. By the fourth convention day all standing committees were appointed and rules were adopted, which enabled the Convention on its fifth day to receive its first proposal for amendment of the Constitution.

An organization manual was prepared by Dr. Martin L. Faust of the University of Missouri, under authorization of the Statewide Committee, for the use of the delegates. This was helpful in organization and in the work of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. Other manuals on the legislative, executive, and judicial articles, on county government, on the amending process and initiative and referendum, etc., had been prepared by political scientists and experts in the various fields of research; the Committee on Convention Library and Research has distributed these manuals and other pertinent data to the delegates; and to date more than one-third of the Convention members are making regular use of the library facilities.

The Convention was organized into 26 committees. They follow the traditional Missouri pattern, but it is not expected that there will be separate articles on agriculture, highways, labor, etc., in spite of the fact that there are committees on these subjects. There is no separate committee on civil service, but proposals relating to it have been referred to the Committee on the Executive Article.

There has been great interest, especially in the metropolitan press, in the work of the Convention. Revision of the present constitution had been the subject of news stories and editorials for several months preceding the calling of the Convention; and the support of the press was a large factor in the favorable vote. In order to develop and maintain the interest of the rural press, which had been antagonistic to the 1922-23 Convention and had not favored the calling of the present one, a Public Information Service has been set up to furnish weekly releases of "news without editorializing or furthering the personal interests of any delegate."

From the beginning there was a firm determination on the part of Convention officials and leaders among the delegates to eliminate party politics. The only device which could meet this was that of bipartisanship. This meant an equal division of committee chairmanships, as well as of Convention staff, between the Democrats and Republicans. Although there is both a Republican

and Democratic vice-president, they do not act as party floor leaders, but serve merely in matters of routine procedure. Nor have there been any occasions as yet when the delegates have voted strictly along party lines. According to one of the St. Louis newspapers "the majority of the delegates are so good it is hard to explain how they got there. At least one-fourth are recognized leaders in their respective parts of the state, persons who represent the best Missouri has to offer in reputation for brains and experience as well as character." Among the delegates are 41 lawyers, seventeen business men, seven farmers, seven newspaper editors, four teachers, two labor executives and two housewives.

A total of 375 proposals have been introduced and referred to committees. The vast majority of them are legislative in character and some of them are utterly capricious, to state the matter mildly.

Public Hearings Held

Before the Christmas holidays all public hearings will have been completed. The sessions of the Convention and meetings of the committees have been characterized by fine decorum and earnestness of purpose. There have been a number of "public interest" groups, as well as some "pressure" groups appearing before committees but only on one occasion did a professional lobbyist appear and then the reaction was not favorable.

The Missouri League of Women Voters has made a valuable contribution to the work of the Convention by its presentation of arguments and memoranda before several of the Convention committees in support of a program which the League has adopted after some years of study. On the desk of every delegate is a copy of the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League, and from the frequency to which it is referred in committee hearings the pamphlet seems to be "required reading."

By January 4, 1944, it is expected that nearly all committees will be ready to report their recommendations or disposition of the file. This will be difficult for some committees —the legislative, for example, having a total of 53 proposals before it, and local government, 47 measures.

One of the rules, which was adopted by the Convention to avoid a serious pitfall of the 1922-23 Convention, was a modification of the Committee of the Whole. In 1922 the Committee of the Whole received all proposals from committees, which made for considerable duplication. It may be called for now only when thirty delegates support such a motion. It is interesting to know that committee hearings attract many delegates who do not happen to be members of the committee. Few of the delegates have a practical grounding in the specific problems of state and local government, but nearly all of them have an open-minded attitude on the questions which confront them. The Convention has called before it in committee hearings experts in the field of state government and the delegates have been eager to receive advice.

The Convention is now considering the character of the document which it will endeavor to draft, whether it should be a brief instrument of funda-

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New Task for a Legislature

Citizens of New Jersey direct their 1944 senators and assemblymen to undertake revision of state's century-old constitution for submission to voters in November.

By JOHN E. BEBOUT
Executive Vice-President, New Jersey Constitution Foundation

NEW JERSEY is celebrating the hundredth anniversary of its state constitution. In so doing, it is paying the authors of its 1844 basic law the sincerest sort of compliment. In short, it is imitating them by writing a new document to be passed on by the voters in the general election next November.

This form of celebration has been in the making for many years; but it is one which few people who pride themselves on being "realistic" or "practical" expected to live to see. New Jersey's constitution has long been rated by experts as one of the most difficult to change. Experience ever since Governor Joel Parker first proposed a constitutional convention in 1873 bears this out. Amendments, minor ones, have been adopted on only four occasions, and repeated attempts to get the legislature to provide for the calling of a constitutional convention have failed.

The explanation for the failure is to be found in the peculiar composition of the New Jersey Senate. This 21-member body, the fourth smallest in the country, is composed of just one senator from each county. Consequently, one voter in Cape May has 29 times the weight in the Senate of one voter in Essex. The Senate can be controlled by eleven small counties with a total population which is less than one-sixth of the population of the state and smaller than the population of Essex County.

Equal county representation, which is matched in only three other states, stems from the first constitution of 1776. The authors of that document, working in a hurry to enable the members of New Jersey's Provincial Congress to go home and get on with the war, hit upon this as the simplest method of selecting an upper house in place of the old appointed council. This plan was continued by vote of the convention of 1844. Since all the counties were still primarily agricultural in character, the result was not too spectacularly unrepresentative, although one delegate from Essex County, Silas Condit, voted against submission of the document on the sole ground that the perpetuation of equal representation in the Senate was unjust and would prevent future constitutional change.

For almost a hundred years, Mr. Condit's prophecy was practically if not literally borne out by events. And with the passing of time, the New Jersey Senate has come to be recognized as one of the most unrepresentative upper houses in the country. In fact, on the basis of the Senate alone, a writer some years ago put New Jersey near the top of a list of "rotten borough states".[1]

Between 1881 and 1913, the Assem-

[1]Orville A. Welsh, "Progressive Hopes and Rotten Boroughs," *Nation*, January 7, 1925.

bly passed five constitutional convention bills only to see them pigeonholed or defeated in the Senate. The avowed reason was the fear of the Senate that a convention, which could not be legally limited by an act of the legislature, might try to reform the upper house. The last of these bills, sponsored by Governor Woodrow Wilson as a Democratic party measure in a legislature which was decisively Democratic in both houses, was defeated in the Senate by a vote of fourteen to four.

No Convention Provision

The New Jersey constitution makes no specific provision for the calling of a constitutional convention. This omission has given rise to the development of two interesting and utterly antipathetic constitutional theories. The first, propounded in an opinion by Attorney-General Edmund Wilson in 1913, is that a constitutional convention is unconstitutional and that the only legal method of change is that of piecemeal amendment. The opposite theory, propounded by Ex-Justice William Clark of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, is that the people are entitled to have a constitutional convention and that "the will of the people can be ascertained in any lawful way. The Governor elected by the people could, for instance, ask his people to advise him by mail." Judge Clark, writing in 1934, insisted that the reason for previous failures to obtain a convention lay in the erroneous assumption "that the convention call *must* be made by the existing legislative body and by it alone."

Judge Clark's proposal, denounced as "revolution" by many critics, was given moral and verbal support by a number of lawyers and civic leaders. For example, Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association and now dean of New York University Law School, suggested that if the Senate refused to endorse a convention bill, the members of the Assembly as the only body truly representative of the people might alone or with the aid of the Governor have the right to call a convention.[2]

The proponents of this point of view all rested their case primarily on the second paragraph in the state's Bill of Rights which asserts "that all political power is inherent in the people" and that "government is instituted for the . . . benefit of the people, and they have the right at all times to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it."

The opponents of this point of view cited the Dorr Rebellion as proof of the legal and practical unsoundness of the notion that a legal constitution could be written and promulgated without the blessing of the established legislature. These critics made a natural mistake in emphasis shared by many commentators on the failure of the Rhode Island "people's constitution" to gain acceptance as the fundamental law of the state. It was not the lack of legislative blessing but rather the active opposition of the executive and military power which routed the "popular" movement. Had

[2]For a discussion of these and other constitutional questions connected with the calling of a convention, see Bebout and Kass, "How Can New Jersey Get a New Constitution?", *University of Newark Law Review*, March 1941.

the Governor been on the side of the "people's government" there would have been no appeal to President Tyler for military aid to put down a "rebellion," because there would have been no rebellion.

In this connection it should be remembered that Chief Justice Taney,[3] remarking that, "the sovereignty in every state resides in the people of the state, and . . . they may alter and change their form of government at their own pleasure," refused to deal with the Rhode Island episode as a legal question at all, on the ground that whether the people have changed their form of government or not "is a question to be settled by the political power."

Governor Works for Revision

Charles Edison was elected Governor in November 1940 after a campaign in which both he and his Republican opponent, Senator Robert Hendrickson, advocated the calling of a constitutional convention. In his inaugural address, Governor Edison strongly urged that the legislature pass a convention bill, Senator Hendrickson having already anticipated him by introducing a bill during the first week of the session. As the legislature dragged along without any apparent intention of paying serious notice to the convention issue, people speculated on the possibility that Governor Edison might test the theory that the Governor could take the lead in assembling a popular convention without the aid of an act of the whole legislature.

Meanwhile, on February 24, 1941, the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention was formed as a medium through which representatives of the most important statewide civic, business, and labor organizations, together with other leading citizens, promised to coöperate in a drive to bring about the calling of a convention.[4]

No convention bill was moved in 1941; but the public speeches of Governor Edison, the pressure of civic groups, and the agitation of Senator Hendrickson and other convention advocates in the legislature, made the legislators feel they could not completely ignore the matter. Consequently, in November 1941, the legislature created a seven-man Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution.

Senator Hendrickson became chairman of the Commission which worked hard throughout the winter. It held no public hearings, but it invited and received suggestions from citizens and civic organizations and had the technical assistance of the Princeton Government Surveys. Although the majority of its members started out with the conviction that all the constitution required to bring it up to date was the adoption of a few specific amendments, the outcome was a unanimous report, presented in May 1942, in the form of a sample draft of a thoroughly revised constitution.

The Commission, mindful of the senatorial barrier, proposed a novel method for getting a revised constitution before the public. It suggested that the people be asked at a refer-

[3] *Luther* vs. *Borden*, 7 Howard 1.

[4] See July 1941 NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, p. 442. Also issues for January 1942, June 1942, November 1942, June 1943, and December 1943.

endum whether or not they wished to direct the legislature, acting as a constitutional convention, to submit a revised constitution for adoption or rejection at the following general election. The legislature, not to be rushed, proceeded to appoint a Joint Committee to hold public hearings on the proposals of the Revision Commission. There was no substantial opposition to revision expressed at the hearings. But in September the majority of the Joint Committee, looking for a convenient "out," grasped at a straw lugged into the last hearing by a well regimented troop of veterans and gold star mothers who denounced the proposal to revise the constitution during the war as a dastardly injustice to the brave and voteless men on foreign battlefronts. The majority of the Committee gladly accepted the argument and reported to the legislature that although there was considerable sentiment for constitutional change, the whole matter should be deferred until after the war.

This view was vigorously attacked by minority members of the Committee, by the Governor, and by the revision forces; and was at last completely exploded by the four-to-one soldier vote for revision at the 1943 election.

Educating the Voter

The realization of the need for popular education led to the formation in November 1942 of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation. This body, with a small research, publicity and field staff, proceeded to flood the state with factual information and nonpartisan discussions on the constitution and the current proposals for changing it. Coöperation was obtained from the newspapers, local radio stations, public and private educational institutions, and state and local civic organizations. A corps of volunteer speakers, prepared to discuss the constitution from different points of view, was trained in some 52 training conferences held throughout the state. Fifteen regional speakers' bureaus and extension committees were set up.

In the meantime, the Committee on Constitutional Convention, which later changed its name to the Committee for Constitutional Revision, continued to plug for action, and despite the war the people of the state gradually became more and more conscious of their state constitution and what it means in their lives. Assemblyman Milton Feller of Union County introduced the bill to enable the people at the 1943 general election to authorize the 1944 legislature to act as a convention. As a result of excellent legislative footwork by Mr. Feller, majority leader Dominic Cavicchia of Essex County, and speaker Manfield Amlicke, the bill passed the Assembly on April 2. An immediate drive was launched by the Citizens' Committee and the press to secure action by the Senate, but it is certain that the Senate would not have acted except for the urgent intervention of the then Republican nominee-apparent, now Governor-elect Walter E. Edge. As a result of Mr. Edge's good offices, the Feller bill was adopted on May 10 with Senate amendments forbidding any change in the Bill of Rights or the system of legislative representation.

After a rather slow start, the Com-

mittee for Constitutional Revision conducted an intensive campaign for a "yes" vote, the New Jersey Constitution Foundation continuing with its background work of public education. The decisive victory of the revision forces by a majority of 154,000 was a surprise to everybody. The professional politicians and the political dopesters were practically unanimous in agreeing with a journalistic friend of revision who sadly reported the Sunday before election that revision was a "dead duck." The workers in the Committee were generally unwilling to make predictions; but they were inclined to feel the chances were about even. This view seemed to be justified by the Gallup polls which indicated that a substantial majority of those with opinions were for revision, but that a majority of the people still entertained no opinions whatever. Actually revision carried all but two counties, Hudson and Ocean.

The fact that only 54 per cent of the people who voted at the election voted on the question indicated, however, the need for a continued and intensive campaign of education in order to insure a sound vote when the revised constitution is submitted to the people in November. One problem which must be faced is the fact that the voting machines obviously presented a more serious obstacle to voting on the question than did paper ballots. Four counties have voting machines, including the three large counties of Essex, Bergen, and Union which were politically and otherwise most favorable to revision. Only 45 per cent of the people who went to the polls in these counties succeeded in voting on the revision question, as against 59 per cent in the paper ballot counties.

Even if Hudson County, where 77 per cent voted on the question, is excluded as "unfair competition" from the list of paper ballot counties, the figures show that 51 per cent of the paper ballot voters in the rest of the state expressed themselves on the question as against the 45 per cent in the voting machine counties. The obvious moral of this story is that a special drive is necessary to educate the voters to find public questions on the voting machines. This is particularly true in Bergen County where the machines are so set up that the question appears not at the top, but way off on the right hand side. As a result only 42 per cent of the Bergen voters found the question.

It is too early to say that next year New Jersey will be under a new constitution; but if the legislature comes near to the mark set by the Revision Commission and if civic groups stick together as well as they have in the past, the signs are good. Governor-elect Edge has already moved to start revision by appointing three unofficial Republican legislative committees to prepare specific proposals. It is, of course, a more ticklish problem to get agreement on the merits of a new constitution than on the demerits of the old one. There is such general agreement, however, on the major issues that it is reasonable to hope that democracy in New Jersey will soon be operating with the aid of a more flexible constitution, a more responsible legislature, a more effective executive, and a more expeditious and efficient court system than at any time in its history.

An Educated Electorate In Yonkers

Editorial from The Mount Vernon (N. Y.) Daily Argus

Returns from the proportional representation election of councilmen in Yonkers give a clear, graphic picture of what a large municipality—Yonkers is the fifth largest city in this state and the sixty-first in the nation—can do when a determined reform element of its citizenry starts out to fight for better government.

Long a shuttlecock between Republican and Democratic administrations, with little difference apparent between rival regimes, Yonkers' city administration went into independent hands gradually as the city manager form of government was adopted, as proportional representation election of councilmen was effected, and most of all as an educated electorate joined to effect economies and to insure their retention through selection of officeholders largely without regard to political lines.

What have been the results?

For one thing, Yonkers has paid off more than $6,000,000 of its debt since the first of 1941, cutting it from nearly $37,000,000 at that time to around $28,500,000 at the end of this year. For another, city purchases have been reduced from more than $800,000 in 1939 to slightly more than $350,000 this year.

Total budgeted department expenditures in the last year under the old partisan system were nearly $10,000,000 in 1939. For next year the total is under $7,400,000. And remember, too, that this has been done in the face of sharply declining municipal revenues, rising state and county taxes, and a deep cut in assessed valuations of taxable properties.

Yet, in this economy drive, the administrations have not been pinchpenny in character, as noted by the fact that recognition of increased living costs has led to a wartime emergency bonus to municipal employes, as has been found advisable for other municipalities and the county itself.

Finally, the tax rate in Yonkers is going down as a result of these economies and of increased efficiencies. It is now down 70 and one-half cents per $1,000 valuation from the high point in 1940 and the city has ceased that questionable practice of refunding—borrowing this year to meet last year's deficit—which has snowballed so many other cities into heavy, burdensome debts. Refunding, it is admitted, keeps down a tax rate—but only temporarily—and Yonkers is turning away from this principle, a policy which in effect means you are passing on to your children the debts you have acquired.

In general, it should be highly gratifying to other cities and towns and villages in Westchester, as well as to the county itself, to note what Yonkers has done in this drive for better government, a success now capped by re-election of the independent, City Manager League councilmen who helped to achieve this result.

Gratifying, we say, because what has been done in Yonkers can be accomplished also wherever weak, inefficient, wasteful administration of government now exists. For it came in Yonkers almost wholly through persistent, determined education of the voters to their plight and possible paths toward relief. And that too can be done elsewhere.

Researcher's Digest: January

All about Kalamazoo; how to write an employee manual, also a good municipal report; Minnesota administration analyzed; guide to data on cities; Michigan highway report; pot pourri.

By MIRIAM ROHER

RARE indeed are clear, understandable descriptions of the operations of most city governments. As a result, a school civics class must depend for its learning on conducted tours through the city hall, where lasting impressions are apt to be pretty superficial. And the citizen who votes and pays the taxes, being neither forced to learn nor even interested in learning, gets only vagrant prejudices gleaned from newspaper stories as the basis of his voting and taxpaying.

The **Kalamazoo Bureau of Municipal Research,** in coöperation with the employees of the city, has just made a giant stride in changing all this, at least for Kalamazoo. *Better Public Service* is the title of a 50-page book which is at once a civics textbook, a handbook for city employees, and a compendium of priceless facts for the man-in-the-street. It is chock-full of organization charts and maps, and it systematically and in simple but pungent language presents the functions of every city department, relates the highlights of its recent history, outlines the important laws enforced by each unit, describes personnel, tells where to get materials (such as copies of the zoning laws), and notes office hours and locations. The print is large enough and there is both a table of contents and an index. There isn't a single photograph but photographs aren't needed. The whole story is there and Kalamazoo is a very lucky city to have it there. It may or may not be pertinent that Kalamazoo has long been one of the diadems in the crown of city manager history.

How to Write a Manual

From the forward-looking state of **Minnesota** comes a contribution to the same field as Kalamazoo's book, in the form of a treatise on the subject of *Improving State Employee Effectiveness with An Orientation and Reference Manual,* issued by the state's **Division of Administrative Management and Research.** This work is effective not only as an outline of principles to be observed in the compilation of such a manual, but as a staunch argument for having the manual at all. There are plentiful excerpts from good employee manuals issued by various governmental agencies and frank appraisals of the techniques employed. This work is in a class with the now classic outlines of how to write municipal reports[1] and it should certainly be a library item for a personnel department on any governmental level.

Modernizing Municipal Reports

Those who recognize how fully the preservation of our self-governing system depends on an enlightened, interested, participating citizenry, were quick to welcome a straight-talking pamphlet, *Modernizing Municipal Reports,* published by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Hartford. In his introduction, Executive Director Carter W. Atkins, veteran researcher who has taken local governments apart for many years to determine what made them tick and how to make them tick more smoothly, argues that

[1] *Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report,* by Ridley and Simon. Chicago, 1939.

"there is no wiser use of the taxpayer's dollar than to give citizens a brief, clear, and readable review of local governmental activities." The pamphlet defines good municipal reporting and bad, tells what to put in a report and what to leave out, describes step-by-step preparation including the achievement of "eye appeal," good format, and layout, and warns of the pitfalls which destroy the effectiveness of the large majority of reports. Originally intended as a guide for communities in Connecticut, the pamphlet has already attracted so much attention elsewhere that the Council, helpfully attempting to meet the growing demand, has arranged a second printing.

Researcher's Meat

To the uninitiated, lists and compendia rate even lower in glamour than the homely fifteen-year-old who lives next door. But the municipal researcher, who sometimes feels desperately that a nation-wide field trip would be necessary to do justice to any given research project, is apt to wrap his arms around the likes of *A Guide to Published Data for Cities of the United States.* This is a list just given to the world by Pressly S. Sikes, courtesy of the **Bureau of Government Research of Indiana University.** "The purpose of this publication," says the author, "is to provide in a convenient form a guide to the compiled and published statistical data applying to all or reasonably large selections of the cities of the United States." The material is broken up into ten subject divisions, such as population, education and libraries, housing, government (many sub-subs under this one), hospital and medical service, etc. What the Bureau has done is to delve into standard works of reference, as well as less well known ones, ferret out the tables and sections dealing with each subject, and list them by chapter and verse, not forgetting to include a tabulation of the types of material contained in each reference. To anyone who has ever used up costly hours in a library trying to find a fact by the hunt and fish method, this sort of thing is well nigh priceless.

Administrative Analysis

The Minnesota department which was responsible for the study described above is representative of an infant function which has recently emerged on the government scene—that of administrative analysis. First cousin to the efficiency expert of private industry, there is little question but that the administrative analyst is here to stay and to flourish in our cities, our states, and our federal government. Therefore, *Reducing Costs and Improving Services in Minnesota's Government,* which is the description by the **Minnesota Division of Administrative Management and Research** of its own organization and activities, is of particular interest and importance. Private philanthropy thought the division's job important enough to give it constant support since its inception in the fall of 1941 and the list of the division's successful projects seems to bear out this confidence.

Highways

Whatever one may think of the future of the airplane, few would not agree that the automobile is here to stay. In governmental terms that means more and better highways, particularly after the war when the populace will again have gasoline. Thus, paying for such improvements will probably become an even more burning question than it has been in the past. The **Bureau of Government of**

the University of Michigan has published an exhaustive study on *Michigan Highway Finance* with probably just this in mind. While the history in this work is Michigan's, the experience is common to most of the country and the authors have left no stone unturned in their effort to arrive at some conclusion regarding an equitable basis for taxation to support future highways. They give full consideration to such questions as the way in which tax money shall be divided among the various governmental jurisdictions, and to the fair weight of taxes upon the general public and upon the highway user. There is an ample bibliography to assist those who wish to go further into any one aspect of the subject.

Research Brevities

A month's layoff for a reviewer of research materials is equivalent to an invitation to Niagara to do its worst in one's backyard. The only way to hold back the waters is to give short shrift to studies which would otherwise merit more respectful treatment. In this category are the following summarily treated research *opera:*

The Legislative Program for Minnesota State Government, 1943-45, issued by the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research,** provides that invaluable summary of what the legislature did during its last session.

Proposals for improved fiscal control and general management for the State of New York are summarized in a work by the **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State,** under the title, *Program for State Management Advances.*

"To help prevent any unnecessary additions to the taxpayers' burden in the form of padded payrolls during the coming election," the **Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans** has already published two issues of its *City Problems* on "Public Employment in New Orleans."

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** too is concerned with personnel, in "The City Personnel Plan" in a recent bulletin.

The **Des Moines Bureau** also deals with civil service law in its November 1 bulletin.

The **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** sheds perspective on a current constitutional convention by reviewing the experience of past conventions in "The Coming Constitutional Convention—Some Guideposts" in an issue of its *Mind Your Business.* Another bulletin presents taxation proposals for the convention.

The **Schenectady Bureau** throws light on that always murky document, a city budget, with an analysis in its October 15 *Bulletin.*

The **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** makes recommendations for modernizing its zoning ordinance in an October 30 bulletin.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Administrative Analysis

Reducing Costs and Improving Services in Minnesota's Government. St. Paul, Minnesota Division of Administrative Management and Research, 1943. 41 pp.

Building

A Suggested Basic Building Code for Washington Cities. By Alfred L. Miller and Joshua H. Vogel. Seattle, Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington, 1943. 26 pp.

County Government

Areal and Functional Consolidation of Tennessee Counties. By C. E. Allred

and B. H. Luebke. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, 1943. 39 pp.

Courts

Survey of the Minor Judiciary in Pennsylvania. State College, Pennsylvania Municipal Publications Service, 1942. 226 pp.

Highways

Michigan Highway Finance. By Robert S. Ford and Marvin A. Bacon. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan, 1943. 191 pp.

Legislature

The Legislative Program for Minnesota State Government, 1943-45. Minneapolis, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, *State Government Research Bulletin,* October 1943. 20 pp.

Municipal Government

Better Public Service. Compiled by City of Kalamazoo Employees, edited by Kalamazoo Bureau of Municipal Research. Kalamazoo, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1943. 49 pp.

A Guide to Published Data for Cities of the U. S. By Pressly S. Sikes. Bloomington, Bureau of Governmental Research, Department of Government, Indiana University, 1943. 48 pp.

Municipal Reports

Modernizing Municipal Reports. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc., 1943. 27 pp.

Personnel

Improving State Employee Effectiveness with an Orientation and Reference Manual. St. Paul, Minnesota Division of Administrative Management and Research, 1943. 32 pp.

Municipal Salary Survey of South Dakota. Vermillion, Governmental Research Bureau of University of South Dakota, 1943. 13 pp.

Research

Progress Report, September Council Meeting. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1943. 22 pp.

Strengthening Democracy at the Roots—the Five Experimental Years of the University's New Service to Government. Philadelphia, Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. 40 pp.

State Government

Program for State Management Advances. Albany, Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State, 1943. 18 pp.

War

Official War Publications. Guide to State, Federal and Canadian Publications (Vol. VI). By Jerome K. Wilcox. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1943 274 pp.

CONSTITUTION BY CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 16)

mental law, or a mixture of general enabling clauses and specific legislative enactments. It may submit a completed document, a series of amendments, a series of separate articles, or a complete document containing certain alternative provisions. The election must be held within sixty days after adjournment.

Plans will undoubtedly be laid for a statewide citizens' committee to secure a favorable vote on adoption of the constitution if the document warrants the support of progressive citizens' groups.

It is too early to hazard an opinion on the outcome of the Convention: but the prognosis of today is "Fair and warmer."

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Mark A. McClosky, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

An Expanded Program for Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Citizens

IN PASSING recent amendments which broaden the federal-state program for vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, it was pointed out in the Senate that: "From the long range point of view there is no question but that the problem of disability is a problem which can be met only by large expenditures of public money. The very fact that a person who is normally a breadwinner is disabled often raises a relief problem as to him and his dependents. From the viewpoint of both federal and state treasuries, and of the disabled persons themselves, experience has demonstrated that the best as well as the most economical approach for meeting the situation is an appropriate program of vocational rehabilitation. Where a disabled person may be made fit for employment through rehabilitation, and can become a tax producer rather than a tax consumer, it would seem poor economy to deny him these necessary services."

On the basis of a study made in 1936 by the U. S. Public Health Service, there are in this country at least eight million men and women between the ages of 15 and 64 years who have a physical defect or chronic disease—not including those having visual defects or those suffering from emotional disorders. It is estimated that of the eight million, about six million are normally employed. This leaves around two million unemployed from which group our problem derives.

This large group of individuals not only does not produce and thereby carry its own economic weight, it consumes—on a conservatively estimated basis—a billion dollars a year of the productive effort of others. The number would appear to remain fairly constant. In good times and in bad, additional numbers flow into this pool from various sources about as fast as others flow out through re-employment, advanced age, death, etc. In this period of almost full employment—allowing for those who cannot be expected to become employable—we estimate that there are about a million who, through appropriate rehabilitation services, could be made available for war and other essential production work.

The vocational rehabilitation program, which was designed to promote the rehabilitation of that segment of the disabled who can be made employable, was inaugurated in 1920. It was based upon the principle of local as well as federal participation with responsibility for its operation vested in State Boards of Vocational Education. This principle was retained in the recently enacted amendments to the act. These amendments, however, made a number of basic changes with respect to coverage and the method of financing the program.

The new law makes possible a more extensive and more effective program throughout the states. It defines the term "rehabilitation services" as any

services necessary to render a disabled individual fit to engage in a remunerative occupation. Such services include, in addition to rehabilitation training, physical restoration services, hospitalization, physical and occupational therapy, prosthetic appliances, and maintenance during training. In contrast, the act of 1920 practically limited the use of federal funds to the training phase of the program and the furnishing of prosthetic appliances.

Specific provision is made in the new act for the rehabilitation of the blind. It also makes it possible to rehabilitate the mentally as well as the physically disabled.

Fiscal Limitations Removed

The fiscal provisions have been liberalized, and the old limitation of $3,500,000 for rehabilitation services has been removed. Payments to states are now based on need and the amount of state funds available for matching, rather than on the basis of population as provided by the act of 1920.

Under the amendments of 1943 the federal government will assume the entire cost of administration of state programs in contrast to the previous requirement of matching on a 50-50 basis. The federal government will assume one-half the cost of rehabilitation training, medical examinations, surgery, therapeutic treatment, hospitalization, prosthetic appliances, transportation, occupational tools and licenses, and the cost of maintenance. The entire cost of these services will be assumed by the federal government in the case of the war disabled civilian, defined to include members of the air raid warning service, civil air patrol, and merchant seamen.

It is to be noted that this act applies only to civilians. It does not include men and women who incur disability in line of duty in the military or naval services. That group is the responsibility of the Veterans Administration. It does include, however, those who are discharged from the service because of a pre-existing disability and those who are disabled not in line of duty. Such individuals are accepted and served on the same basis as civilians, there being no special provision for them.

The expanded program is designed to provide services which will be best suited to meet the needs of the individual concerned. The rehabilitation agent interviews the applicant, and frequently his former employer, school officials, and others, for the purpose of securing all pertinent data regarding the client's problem and potentialities for rehabilitation. In many cases, it is necessary to supplement this information by securing other data through medical, psychological, and psychiatric examinations made by specialists employed for that purpose. All data secured through the case study are evaluated for the purpose of assisting the client in determining upon a suitable employment objective and the formulation of a plan to realize it.

Disabled persons are selected for rehabilitation services on the basis of two major factors—eligibility and feasibility. *Eligibility* factors are conditioned by law. The determinant is the presence of an established handicap. *Feasibility* is determined by whether the individual can be made employable or more advantageously employable, taking into consideration the factors of age, physical condition, education and experience, mental capacity, aptitudes, abilities, and interests.

In the program of rehabilitation training, use is made of existing vocational training facilities that are able

to meet the peculiar needs of the individual. These facilities include public vocational schools, private trade schools, universities and colleges offering professional and technical training, business colleges and correspondence schools, and business establishments such as service and repair shops, factories and other commercial concerns.

Maintenance may be provided clients during their training program only after an investigation of the client's resources and liabilities discloses that such assistance is necessary.

Placing the Client

Placement is an integral part of the rehabilitation process and, as it is proof that preparation has been adequate, it must be the responsibility of the rehabilitation agency. In the placement of a rehabilitated client the case procedure method is followed. It may be accomplished either by placement with an employer or by establishment in self-employment of some kind.

In effecting placement the employer must be sold on the employment of disabled persons; hence, rehabilitation workers must make personal solicitation of employers in order to effect the placement of their clients. It is the practice of rehabilitation agencies to coöperate with other agencies and individuals in securing placement for their clients. Training agencies are expected to assist in the placement of clients trained by them. Finally, the aid of all employment agencies, and particularly the U. S. Employment Service, is solicited in securing the placement of clients prepared by the rehabilitation agency for employment.

Some disabled persons have the desire and the ability to engage in business for themselves. Such persons may be assisted by the rehabilitation service in so establishing themselves.

In providing any service the policy of utilizing existing facilities will be continued as in the past. Although authority is given the Federal Security Administrator to establish needed facilities when requested by two or more states, this authority will not be exercised unless it be proven that existing facilities cannot be expanded to meet an urgent need.

On September 8 of this year an Office of Vocational Rehabilitation was established as a constituent unit of the Federal Security Agency. The functions of the Office are carried out through two major divisions—the Division of Management Standards and the Division of Rehabilitation Standards—each of which has sections responsible for specific functions and eleven regional offices located in regions corresponding to those of the Agency. Regional representatives will be in charge of these areas and will represent the Director of Vocational Rehabilitation and the Federal Security Administrator in the administration of the act in their respective regions.

The personnel in Washington are specialists in the different aspects of the program and will be available for technical assistance to regional and state officials.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Contributors in Review

ELECTED Governor of Georgia in 1942, **Ellis Arnall** (*25 Study Georgia Basic Law*) has made constitutional revision one of the major tasks of his administration. He was largely responsible for the adoption of some 28 amendments in August of last year—among them one which lowered the voting age to eighteen—as well as for the appointment of the constitutional commission of which he writes in this issue. Governor Arnall was admitted to the Georgia bar in 1931. He was a member of the Georgia House of Representatives, acting as speaker *pro tem* from 1933 to 1937, later the state's Attorney-General.

FOR many years head of the Department of Government at the University of Newark, **John E. Bebout** (*New Task for a Legislature*) took leave a year ago to act as full-time executive vice-president of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation. Previous to his work for the Foundation, Dr. Bebout spent a year as executive assistant to Governor Edison. His hobby for a long time has been the study of and civic activity in problems of government and citizenship in New Jersey. He is author of *Documents and Readings in New Jersey Government* and advisory editor of the forthcoming publication on debates in New Jersey's 1844 Constitutional Convention, as well as author of its extensive introduction.

INTERESTED in government since she was thirteen, when she marched in a New York suffrage parade, **Tess** (Mrs. Virgil) **Loeb** (*Constitution by Convention*) has worked for civic betterment in her adopted city, St. Louis, for a number of years. She has given much time to the League of Women Voters, recently participating in that organization's campaign to arouse public opinion on the problems of postwar planning. Mrs. Loeb served as chairman of the St. Louis Consumers Milk Commission, where she worked for the city's standard milk ordinance. She was a member of the council and of the Model City Charter Committee of the National Municipal League. She is now "covering" the Constitutional Convention in Missouri as a special writer for the *St. Louis Star-Times*.

HOMESTEADER in Colorado, U. S. Indian agent in New Mexico, college professor in Arizona, newspaper reporter in Detroit, advertising writer in New York—these are some of the high spots of the career of **Webb Waldron** (*The Mayor Gets Things Done*), now roving editor for *The Reader's Digest*. From writing copy for Dr. Eliot's Five Foot Shelf he graduated into the editorial department of *Collier's*, and during World War I was correspondent with the British and American armies. He derives his greatest satisfaction from describing the achievements of American individuals and communities in magazine articles, feeling it is more important to picture the successful struggle of a gang of Pittsburgh slum children toward good citizenship than to write a sonata or create a romantic heroine. Nevertheless, he has several novels, as well as other books, to his credit.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Federal Government's Property Surplus a Postwar Problem

Disposition for Public or Private Use at Issue

ALTHOUGH no date for the end of the war is reasonably predictable, the problem of converting huge governmental investments for war purposes to public or private peacetime uses is receiving much attention by Congress, the administration, representatives of state and local governments, and the public generally. Some federal governmental holdings have already been disposed of as unsuited to present requirements or otherwise not needed.

Estimates of the prospective size of the surplus reach huge figures. One, based on experience of the previous war and the relative size of operations in this one, goes to the incredible height of 75 billions of dollars of surplus materials, while the total land in war use is reported to exceed 43,000,000 acres, over 17,000,000 of which was acquired by the War Department within the last three years. A great deal of this land, particularly among wartime acquisitions, will be regarded as surplus.

Congress Considers Proposals

Hearings have been held before various committees of Congress in connection with proposed legislation, and views of many organizations and individuals have been presented. There appeared to be general agreement that a central board or person should be empowered by Congress to look after all surplus property. Many private interests and also members of Congress urge the sale of surplus holdings to private purchasers as completely and rapidly as is reasonably possible without dislocating markets. On the other hand, there is fear that property that should be retained by the federal government or transferred to states and localities will be let go, to the immediate or ultimate public detriment.

One body considering the matter is a subcommittee of the Public Buildings Committee headed by Representative Carter Monasco, who has proposed a ten-man commission, representing government, industry, and the public, to dispose of surplus property, with first preference to the producer who had the property, followed by the federal, state, and local governments, and then by the domestic and foreign markets respectively. In December the National Association of Real Estate Boards urged upon the subcommittee the need of a central agency for disposal of surplus real estate under a careful and orderly program, the setting of minimum appraised prices, and governmental financing. The Association objected to the offering of surplus real estate to government departments ahead of non-governmental purchasers, but recommended that important holdings difficult of replacement should be sold only with right of recapture.

Rights of States and Cities

A bill by Representative James O'Leary, which has passed the House and reached the Senate, would leave the sale of surplus property (including personal property) with the procurement division of the Treasury, with the right for states and cities to purchase before offering to the general market.

The Small Business Committee headed by Representative Wright Patman has held hearings and issued a report favor-

ing disposal of surplus property to veterans and small businesses. Municipalities are neglected. The committee believes that ten years or more will be required for liquidation.

Under the Lanham Act for war housing, property constructed thereunder cannot be conveyed to public or even private agencies to provide subsidized low-rent housing.

Related to disposal of surplus property is the general problem of reconversion from war industry to production for peace. The Council of State Governments, through its executive director, is one of many organizations and individuals expressing concern over methods and timing of termination of war contracts, and the handling of attendant problems of unemployment and surplus property.

Public or Private Control

A public opinion poll conducted last fall for the National Planning Association showed 75 per cent of persons interviewed in all parts of the country as favoring a central governmental agency—with representation of business, labor, and agriculture desired by most advocates—to guide domestic policy as to re-employment, plant conversion, and demobilization; 46 per cent were for selling government-owned plant facilities to private operators, and 26 per cent for government retention; in the case of plants which the private operator did not wish to purchase, 46 per cent thought the government should take them over and 37 per cent were for selling to the highest bidder. Postwar partnership between government and business in vital defense industries was favored by 52 per cent.

Labor Department Reports on Industrial Areas

As a service to local civic, labor, and industrial groups the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor is preparing and issuing a series of industrial area reports to set forth the background of local conditions bearing upon proposed federal policies for the postwar period. The Bureau states regarding the series of reports:

"All agencies and levels of government will have to participate in the task of postwar reconstruction if it is to be brought to a successful conclusion. But the necessary scope of this participation, and the proper division of responsibility between local, state, and national government, cannot be determined accurately unless local groups first stake out the field, examine the reconversion and reemployment problem in their communities, and indicate the type and extent of assistance they will require from state and national authorities.

"The studies in this series are not intended to be definitive; lacking the information and perspective which local residents alone can provide, they must aim at a more limited objective. They are meant to provide a solid base of statistical material on the local community before and during the war, with some suggestion of the problems to be met when hostilities end. It is hoped that they will stimulate and assist local groups in gauging the impact of the war on their community, and in preparing for a swift and effective shift of production to peacetime uses."

Canada Succeeds in Anti-Inflation Policy

Since the establishment of overall price, wage, and profit control in Canada[1] two years ago—December 1, 1941—the cost of living has increased only 3.3

[1]See "Canada Regulates Wages, Prices," National Municipal Review, May 1942, p. 249.

per cent as compared to a 14.6 per cent increase in that country's first two years of the present war and a 33 per cent increase in the second two years of the last war, according to a dispatch in the *New York Times*. This states:

From January 1, 1942, to the end of October only 5,738 dealers had been prosecuted for breaking the ceiling or other infractions of the law. The control is for the most part exercised by 13,000 voluntary officers, mostly women, throughout the country who report to the board and make recommendations.

To keep the cost of living down subsidies are paid on essential imports and on such products as milk and butter to about an equal amount. The subsidies paid in both categories this year will reach about $120,000,000. Without these subsidies, it is claimed, the cost-of-living index would have risen considerably and weighed unfairly on certain classes of the community.

On December 9 a further order was issued barring wage increases except in cases of "gross inequality or gross injustice," where the employer can pay an increase and not raise prices. Such cost-of-living bonuses as have been granted will be incorporated in the wage structure. A re-examination of price and wage control is promised if any substantial increase in cost of living occurs.

Council-Manager Plan News

On December 7 **Ishpeming, Michigan,** adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 1,020 to 669. It replaces a charter that was granted by the legislature in 1873.

The International City Managers' Association has added **Bloomfield Hills, Michigan,** to its official list of council-manager cities. The present manager has been serving since 1935 under a charter adopted in 1932.

The first council under the council-manager charter for **Lowell, Massachusetts,** was elected on November 2,[1] to take office January 4. A manager is being sought—preferably one with previous manager experience.

A proposal for a city manager in **Kenogami, Quebec,** was defeated on November 25 and 26 by a vote of 238 to 91. It is believed that a general understanding that the present mayor would be appointed manager reacted against the proposal.

The effort to substitute the council-manager plan in place of government by a three-man commission in **Everett, Washington,** received a setback on December 4 when the proposal for a manager and a council of seven was defeated by a vote of 3,021 to 1,578. The proposal was sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce but was opposed by certain business interests, including a large lumber company, as well as by political office-holders. Labor sentiment was divided. An active committee worked for the plan and the attempt to have it adopted is expected to be renewed after the war.

Midland, Michigan, will vote February 21 on adoption of a manager charter.

The city of **Fairbanks, Alaska,** 100 miles south of the Arctic Circle, will have a special election soon on the question of adopting the provisions of the 1943 council-manager enabling act. The manager plan is reported to have large public support, and the present council has recommended it and is seeking qualified applicants from all parts of the United States. One of the first duties of the prospective manager will be the handling of arrangements with federal agencies on the construction of water, sewerage, and housing projects.

The charter revision commission of

[1]See also p. 45 this issue.

East Lansing, Michigan, is at work on a council-manager charter. A council of five members of at least three year's residence in the city has been decided on; the other elective officials to be the justice of the peace and the city constable.

The Federation of Citizens Associations in **Washington, D. C.,** has adopted a committee report endorsing the McCarran bill, which would provide for a city manager and seven elected councilmen. The Federation also favored a proposed amendment to provide that at least three of the seven councilmen, and also a mayor, should be elected at large.

In a poll of aldermen of **Madison, Wisconsin,** by the *Madison State Journal*, three were definitely for a change to the manager plan, one favored it if the governing board is not to be reduced in size, three were willing to submit the plan to popular vote, four were definitely opposed, and five could not be reached for interviews at the time.

A committee of the Chamber of Commerce of **El Paso, Texas,** has been appointed to study the manager plan. One member is the editor of the *El Paso Times* and the others are prominent business men.

The directors of the Chamber of Commerce of **Burlington, Vermont,** voted on December 3 to investigate the pros and cons of the manager plan, which is in effect in 25 Vermont cities and towns. The executive secretary of the Chamber is gathering data, and citizens have been invited to express their opinions by writing to Chamber headquarters. The mayor contends that the plan is not desired locally.

Urban Redevelopment Project Upheld by New York Court

An injunction against the "Stuyvesant Town" project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for postwar rebuilding of an eighteen-block area on the east side of Manhattan Island, New York City,[1] was denied by the Court of Appeals of New York State on December 2, by a vote of four to two. The injunction against the proposal was sought by property owners. The majority of the Court held that a public purpose existed. Another suit, by various civic associations, seeking to abrogate the contract with the city, is pending in the courts.

Sandusky, Ohio, Provides Varied In-Service Training

An example of different types of in-service training for employees in several municipal departments is furnished by the council-manager city of Sandusky, Ohio, the American Municipal Association reports.

Every fireman has or is enrolled in a training course offered through the University of Virginia, and selected police officers attend monthly meetings held by the district office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Cleveland. Several police officers also have attended police training schools at Purdue and Ohio State Universities.

The police officers, upon their return from the various schools and meetings, lead group discussion meetings to transmit to members of the force information and ideas gained at the schools. In addition, all Sandusky officers attended a district school, covering eight counties, held in Sandusky with the coöperation of the University of Toledo.

In-service training also is being done in the waterworks, street, and engineering departments. The city engineer who directed training in these departments took motion pictures of actual

[1]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1943, p. 284; July 1943, p. 397.

operations and shows them to a group of employees who discuss ways in which the work could be improved. Though many employees in these departments are not interested in textbooks, they will sit through a meeting at which motion pictures are shown and practical problems discussed by a man whose language they understand.

Other training programs sponsored by the city included sending the golf manager and greens-keeper to a school conducted by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The city also inaugurated an automobile and truck accident prevention program in coöperation with the company insuring municipal equipment. Monthly safety meetings were held, and as a result the accident rate has dropped about 70 per cent.

According to city officials, in-service training has resulted in the retirement of many older men in the police and fire departments who were not interested in participating in training programs. They were replaced by younger men who have improved the discipline and morale of the force.

Illinois Officials Studying Government Administration

State administrative officials in Illinois are being given courses in public administration, sponsored by the Illinois State Civil Service Commission and the University of Illinois.

The courses include administrative organization and reorganization at the three levels of government, centralization and decentralization, methods of management, personnel problems, financial administration, administrative powers and limitations, and legislative, judicial and popular control over administration. Future courses will include one in personnel administration and one in budget administration, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

Persons eligible to take graduate work are allowed credit toward a master's degree in public administration at the University of Illinois. Those not eligible for graduate work are permitted to attend the course.

Maine Provides Service Officer for Veterans

A new state service officer has been added to the Maine Department of Health and Welfare to handle affairs of state veterans and of men and women now in the armed forces. Maine is one of 32 states in the country with a state employee serving under the title of service officer or similar designation, according to the American Public Welfare Association.

Under general supervision of the director of social welfare the new service officer acts as a consultant to the staff of various divisions of the department in all matters pertaining to veterans and their dependents. Duties of the officer include filing and prosecuting claims for disability, death or other federal benefits for which veterans or dependents are eligible; consulting and working with the U. S. Veterans' Administration and other interested organizations; and interpreting to the public the activities and policies of the department on behalf of veterans and their dependents. He also serves on the Maine Veterans' Service committee which is composed of representatives of all organizations in the state concerned with the welfare of veterans and which has undertaken the postwar planning program for returning veterans.

University of Pennsylvania Gives Free In-Service Training

The Institute of Local and State Government of the University of Pennsylvania has announced a new program in Pennsylvania local and state govern-

ment administration, for a limited number of state, county, city, borough, and township officials, without cost for tuition. Emphasis is on administrative problems and the methods utilized by public officials in such fields as public works, planning, utilities, recreation, taxation, finance, personnel, etc. Round table discussions are led by invited authorities in their particular fields. A different phase of public administration is studied and discussed each week. The program extends from November 2, 1943, to June 1944.

Kentucky Reports on Governmental Progress

A four-year account of the Kentucky state government, under the auspices of Governor Keen Johnson, was published under the title *Kentucky Government, 1939-1943* on November 30, shortly before the new Governor took office. This 72-page document, copiously illustrated with charts and photographs, along with the 1939 report of Governor Chandler, marks a milestone in the commonwealth's reporting plan.

The present report is presented in two coördinate parts, the first dealing with the operation and achievements of the state government itself and the second with the relationship between the state and local governmental and other coöperative activities. The second part begins with an outline of the state's policy toward local agencies. In brief, it is stated to be state financial and technical support for the development and maintenance of public service programs with statewide implications, but preservation of local discretion as to action and policy. The Governor believes state prescription of minimum standards or state checkup to assure legal expenditure of funds is consistent with desirable local autonomy.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

Illinois Welfare Employees under Civil Service

Employees of the Public Welfare Department of Illinois are undergoing the most important advance in that department in recent years in being given tenure under a merit system, according to the Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois. The State Civil Service Commission was directed by Governor Green last September to examine all classifications and to keep lists in force so that all employees will be certified. Those on the certified list are to refrain from politics and are not to be assessed for campaign funds although voluntary contributions are allowed.

Wisconsin Municipal Retirement Fund Now Operative

January 1, 1944, was the date when the Wisconsin Municipal Retirement Fund, provided by legislation enacted in 1943, became effective in twenty or more municipalities having employees ranging in number from 18 to 522 and totaling approximately 3,000, or about one-fourth of the eligible employees in the entire state. Other cities have acted to come under the fund but not in time to be effective before 1945. Four members of the board of trustees have been appointed by Acting Governor Goodland, the fifth member being the commissioner of insurance, *ex officio*. Two members were from lists submitted by the League of Wisconsin Municipalities, and Frederick N. MacMillin, Secretary of the League, has acted as temporary executive director of the fund.

Mayor Orville Christianson of Eau Claire, designated executive trustee, is chairman of the board, and Comptroller I. F. Knoebel of West Allis, finance trustee, is secretary. Two other members are designated municipality trustee and employee trustee.

Citizen Action

Citizens, Schools Cooperate on Election Project

Philadelphia pupils learn how to vote, visit the polls

WORKING with the secondary schools of Philadelphia to make their courses in citizenship and civics more interesting, and to help the students secure first-hand information about the ballot and its importance in our system of government, the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** last fall submitted a twofold plan to the school executives of the public, Catholic, and private school systems of the city. These executives welcomed the idea and each system assigned an instructor to assist with the program and make necessary arrangements with school principals.

With the full coöperation of the three systems the Committee established a school to teach registration procedure and the conduct of elections. The course was divided in two parts.

Education for Teaching

Six weeks before the municipal election of November 2, 1943, the office of the Committee of Seventy was equipped with voting machines as used in 41 wards of the city, sample paper ballots which cover the remaining eleven wards, and other election equipment. The Committee also secured copies of official registration affidavits, voters' certificates, return sheets for recording results of elections. It had printed an eight-page digest of election laws, penalties for the violation of the laws, and the setup and arrangement of polling places, etc.

School authorities selected five students from each school in the city. These included 46 junior and senior public high schools, nine Catholic high schools, and ten private schools of high school grades.

Five representatives from four different schools and several teachers constituted a class. A definite schedule of classes was established, and a period of two hours was allowed each group. Training was intensive. It began with an explanation of the permanent registration system, filling out of a permanent registration record, a black-board outline of a polling place, an explanation of how members of the election board are chosen and their respective duties, who is permitted in the polling places, straight party voting by machine and paper ballot, and how to split tickets. The candidate counters on the back of the machines were shown and explained, as were other safeguards to prevent fraudulent voting. After these demonstrations, each student was permitted to mark a ballot and operate a voting machine. This was followed by a question-and-answer period.

Illegal Assistance

In Philadelphia we are plagued with wholesale illegal assistance by political workers. These violations of our election laws were stressed in order that students would accent the simplicity of voting by machine or ballot. Ways of learning qualifications of candidates and the importance of issues were suggested. *In instructing the classes, the Committee emphasized the need for discussing these important problems with parents and other adults during the election season.*

Each student was given copies of a facsimile ballot from the voting machine, the paper ballot used in some parts of the city, the primary election ballot, registration affidavit, a voter's

certificate, election board return sheet, digest of the election laws, and a small pamphlet entitled—*How a Vote Works.*

Upon completion of the course, the students returned to their respective schools and, in turn, assumed the role of teachers before classes in social science, civics, problems of democracy, history, etc.

It is estimated by civics teachers and school authorities that the 325 students and 35 teachers who had been trained in this course of study instructed more than 100,000 students in 65 Philadelphia schools.

Practical Experience

As an experiment, fifteen students from the public, Catholic, and private schools were selected to visit polling places and observe the conduct of elections during the primary, September 14, 1943. A short course of training was developed to equip them for the work. On election day the students were assigned to visit 50 of the 1,335 polling places in Philadelphia, representing a cross-section of the city.

The experiment was so successful that school executives asked the Committee of Seventy to enlarge the program for the general election. The Committee made the necessary arrangements and executives from secondary schools and colleges selected 348 students for the project. Many in this group had attended the previous course in voting procedure.

Our staff planned a two-hour course to be given in the Committee's offices, and an average of 30 students comprised each class. After the completion of the course the students paired off and assignments were made so that students could go right into the field on election morning.

Important sections of the Pennsylvania election laws were reviewed, while special emphasis was given to the layout of polling places, who is permitted inside the polling place, the duties of police officers and County Board of Elections, and how returns are made to the Election Bureau.

Students were coached in how to secure coöperation of political workers around the polling places and encouraged to question them. They learned at first hand how political workers and party committeemen get out the vote, control the vote, intimidate the uninformed to vote for their hand-picked candidates, and influence election boards.

Each student was supplied with a digest of election laws, a list and the addresses of the polling places each couple would visit, and a card of identification. This card contained the student's name, the school he represented, and a brief notice advising that he was coöperating with the Committee of Seventy.

Some students began their visits at 7:00 A.M. when the polls were opened, others at noon, while some who were not given class credit for the survey waited until after school hours. Depending upon the amount of time to be devoted to the project, each couple was given from three to ten polling places to visit. Altogether, 800 polling places were visited by the 174 teams.

Results

The study of civics and democracy will have more meaning to these boys and girls, many of whom for the first time had an opportunity to see democracy working at the polling place. They saw how their public officials are elected. They saw what happens in and around many of the polling places in a large metropolitan city. They met and talked with members of election boards, political workers, and voters. They watched two political machines at work.

Most important of all, by their presence around the polling places and repeated visits to the more congested areas, they had an important part in bringing about one of the most orderly and peaceful municipal elections held in Philadelphia for 50 years.

The experiment was successful, and next year both projects will be repeated on a larger scale.

The credit for the successful plan belongs to the social science teachers of the secondary school systems.

WILLIAM BARCLAY LEX,
Vice-chairman
Philadelphia Committee of Seventy

Citizens and Officials Plan for Grand Rapids

The **Metropolitan Grand Rapids Planning Association** has scarcely reached a point where much can be said of its activities. However, the story of its inception may be of interest.

Impetus for the movement was threefold. First, Mayor George Welsh, presumably through his participation in the Advisory Council of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, became convinced of the need for planning. Second, Kenneth C. Welch, vice-president of the Grand Rapids Store Equipment Company, through his contacts in designing, equipping, and planning for leading retail stores in large metropolitan areas, saw the direct relationship between retail trade problems and city planning. Third, the League of Women Voters, concerned with the social aspects of planning, brought Walter Blucher, director of the American Society of Planning Officials, to the city for a day's consultation with city officials and for a dinner attended by 150 leading citizens.

Out of this grew almost simultaneously both the Planning Association and progress in official planning. One can scarcely say which was cause and which effect, so closely have they been interwoven. No doubt the very existence of preliminary steps in the development of the Association—plus the leadership of the Mayor and the prodding of our two most technically informed citizens, Mr. Welch and Mrs. Martin Robinson—account for passage of a new planning ordinance based on the state enabling act, the appointment of a new Planning Commission, and the appropriation of funds therefor.

So, too, with the encouragement of the members of the new Planning Commission, has come about the incorporation of the Metropolitan Grand Rapids Planning Association. Representatives of some thirty citizen groups and of all cities and townships within the area were invited to a preliminary dinner. Here talks were given on the Committee for Economic Development and its relation to city planning by the CED chairman, on state planning activities in relation to city planning by the State Planning Commission's chairman, the history of planning in Grand Rapids by the Mayor, planning in other cities by Mr. Welch, legal problems in planning by Mrs. Robinson, and the place of a citizens' organization in planning. Two luncheon meetings with the planning consultant, Mr. Ladislav Segoe, helped to clarify for us our objectives and functions as an organization, as well as to widen and intensify the interest in planning among business men and labor leaders.

Association's Program

The two principal emphases of the Association are: (1) coördination of the planning efforts of all the governmental units in the metropolitan area, a function for which there is no governmental channel possible under the law; and (2) development of public understanding of and support for sound planning.

The Association plans to employ a planning technician to make studies of the economic and social structure and needs of the metropolitan community. To have these studies made by the Association rather than by the governmental planning agencies will serve two purposes: it will make it possible to approach these problems from a metropolitan-wide point of view, and will relieve our governmental agencies, financially restricted by a drastic property tax limit, of this expense.

Citizens, Officials Cooperate

Under the heading of physical planning, the function of the Association will be to bring together into a permanent committee the officials of the governmental planning agencies for the purpose of coördinating their plans. Subcommittees on the various phases of physical planning will also include official representatives of the cities and townships of the area as well as citizens.

Much thought has been given to the question of the extent to which government officials should participate in the direction of this citizens' association. It is important that the Association protect itself against political abuse. On the other hand, the Association is to serve as the machinery through which government officials of the seven cities and townships in the area can coöperate. We therefore are developing a board of directors, the majority of whom are citizens, but on which will be officials from each of the governmental units.

The objective is to create a large citizen membership through which we can reach the community with our educational efforts. Some of us believe that this Association offers a means of stabilizing and making permanent much of the citizen interest and coöperation that has been developed for war purposes in the Defense Council. The functions of many of the Defense Council committees are those of community planning. They need only to be transferred to a continuing, peacetime basis.

Though it may be too early for such assumptions, the establishment of this Association marks a most encouraging milestone for Grand Rapids. The prospects for success for the present citizen movement are twofold: (1) much of the motive for planning is economic and the Association therefore is profiting by the interest and support of citizens who ordinarily turn a deaf ear to the more idealistic, intangible objective of "good government"; (2) the Association has a positive rather than a negative purpose: it does not exist to clean up a bad political situation; it exists to build a better community, economically and socially. A better community politically may be an inevitable by-product, but direct activity in this field is barred by the Association's articles of incorporation.

DOROTHY L. JUDD
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Here and There

More Anniversaries

The **Chicago City Club** celebrated the 40th anniversary of its founding on December 6. Dr. Charles E. Merriam, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, gave an address at the anniversary luncheon on Chicago and the postwar world which was greeted with prolonged applause. The only two charter members present—Lessing Rosenthal and Colonel A. A. Sprague—gave short addresses. Herman L. Ellsworth, president of the Club, presided.

Hon. Millard E. Tydings, U. S. Senator from Maryland, was the principal

speaker at the 50th anniversary dinner of the **Chicago Civic Federation,** referred to in this column last month.

The **Women's Municipal League of Boston** celebrated its 35 years of civic service this fall by publication of a history of the organization.

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With the Women Voters

Apropos of the "person-to-person" campaign (see last month's column) of the **National League of Women Voters,** the *Monthly News,* organ of the **New York League of Women Voters,** contains reports from the state's local groups on the success of similar tactics in pre-election and membership work.

"Personal canvass is the most direct way to meet the indifference and apathy of voters," said the **New Rochelle League.** "The community has become more aware of the League and its program," reports **Albany.**

Leagues which used the face-to-face approach with the 100 per cent voter pledge cards report returns of from 20 to 60 per cent. Leagues which have tried it say that the "direct approach" method is best in increasing memberships.

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Election Tactics

A. R. Everson, executive vice-president of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** has solved the problem of how to get the commuter vote to the polls. In the interests of constitutional revision he organized a volunteer corps of more than 500 workers, chiefly women, and assigned them on the Friday morning preceding election to posts at nearly two hundred central and north Jersey railroad and bus stations. These volunteers handed out circulars to over 200,000 New York-bound commuters. Says the November 15 issue of *Taxegram*: "For the first time in political history Hudson County, the Hague stronghold and a 'verboten' spot for opposition outlanders, was circularized on a county-wide basis without a single casualty."

The **Seattle Municipal League** has endorsed the campaign of the Aero-Metal Trades registration committee to get 50,000 new voters to register prior to the city primaries, League President Harry J. Markey has announced. In a letter to the committee, the League states: "It is the intention of the Municipal League to develop a program with the same objective as yours, and the League offers to you such assistance of its staff and facilities as will help to bring about the desired results."

* * *

Local Governmental Consolidation

Howard W. Davis, president of the **San Antonio Council of Presidents,** writes that additional clubs have now endorsed the Council's proposal for consolidation of San Antonio and Bexar County.[1] These include Zonta International, The Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the Woman's Club, the latter with over four hundred members.

The **Cleveland Citizens League's** bulletin, *Greater Cleveland,* discusses "the annual struggle between fourteen library boards and the thirteen suburban mayors in the county before the County Budget Commission over the 1944 classified property tax revenues." The League comes to the conclusion that "the only permanent and satisfactory solution . . . is the creation of a single city-county government with branches in the municipalities and traveling bookmobile service for the rural portions of the county."

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Local Finance

Numerous citizen groups are making efforts to keep their members informed

[1] See "San Antonio Civic Group Endorses City-County Consolidation," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1943, p. 553.

of the financial status of local governments. The December *Tax Digest,* organ of the **California Taxpayers Association,** publishes tax levies for all counties in the state.

Latest Financial Statistics of New Jersey Municipalities, a compilation of figures relating to budgets and expenditures of 566 government units, arranged by counties, was issued in November by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association.**

The November issue of *North Dakota Taxpayer* contains a "Financial Report of Counties—Year Ending June 30, 1943," in which it states: "Most counties are now on a current cash basis. Some even have developed sizable surpluses."

The *New Mexico Tax Bulletin* published the bonded indebtedness of the state as well as of its local governments in November.

The bulletin of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance**—*Wisconsin Taxpayer*—published a series of articles "designed to show the relation between various state aids and property taxes."

Budgets for 1944 are close to the hearts of the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** and the **Citizens Budget Commission of New York City.** In *Your Tax Dollar* the Baltimore organization, after a general discussion of the matter, states that city officials can economize and that better budget-making procedure is needed. It requests legislation to give adequate time for public hearings on the budget. The New York budget group has issued a fifteen-page release, taking issue with many of the budget proposals of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment.

The **Lowell Taxpayers Association** has presented to its members "a breakdown of the tax dollar" of the city for the years 1938-1942.

City Club Committees Report

The **Chicago City Club's** Education Committee has recently made a report on the exodus of high school students to war jobs. Copies of the report have been placed in the hands of members of the Board of Education, the superintendent of schools, director of the War Manpower Commission, and other interested persons. Its Public Health Committee is seeking data on the care of the aged, with particular reference to homes. A recent report of the Club's Social Welfare Committee, calling attention to the fact that the poor law of Illinois was enacted in 1874, asks for a "codification of all public welfare laws in order to avoid duplication of effort" and the removal of "obsolete laws from the statute books and enactment of legislation to meet changing social and economic trends in a constructive manner wherever there are gaps in the present law." The Club is continuing its work of over three years to stop the pollution of Lake Michigan which, it claims, is increasing dangerously.

The **Portland City Club** has inaugurated a new City Club series of addresses on, "Portland: Neighbor-to-the World," which will be devoted to Portland's "future among sister cities around the world."

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Recent Publications

Fifty Years on the Civic Front, by Douglas Sutherland, a clothbound volume of 98 pages, has recently been issued by the **Civic Federation of Chicago.** The book is "a history of the Civic Federation's dynamic activities, the evolution of a citizen movement in Chicago, and the development of organized public interest in the costs and procedures of local government."

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** has issued *Municipal Law Changes Made by the Massachusetts Legislature 1943.*

Taxation and Finance
Edited by Wade S. Smith

Poll Asks Increased Federal Taxes

Economists Hold Additional Taxes Possible, Desirable

IN RECENT months the Tax Institute (formerly Tax Policy League) has polled its members on the most important single fiscal question of the day, that of increasing federal taxes in 1944. The answer is overwhelmingly that taxes can and should be increased—a result especially significant inasmuch as the Institute's members consist of tax economists, business men with more than ordinary interest in the field of taxation, tax lawyers, accountants, corporation tax agents, governmental researchers, and like individuals.

As described in the Institute's *Popular Release* of November 30, 1943—a preliminary report on the poll to be followed by a more exhaustive study later—the questions asked were as follows:

Can we raise $10,000,000,000 in new taxes in 1944?

Should we try to do so?

If so, how would you recommend that it be done?

Heavier income taxes:
Individual?
Corporation?
Estate and gift?
Heavier excises?
General sales tax?
Forced savings?
Other?

Replies to the poll numbered 333. Of these, 240 or 72.7 per cent thought that $10,000,000,000 in new taxes can be raised in 1944 and 222 or 66.6 per cent thought we should try to do so.

The total votes cast for each of the various taxes and forced savings were as follows:

General sales tax	187
Heavier excises	172
Heavier individual income taxes	159
Forced savings	126
Heavier estate and gift	118
Heavier corporation income taxes	99

States the release: "Some of the respondents voted for all the taxes listed. Others for one or more. Several persons voting for the sales tax specified that it be imposed only for the duration of the war. A number of persons specified that heavier excises should be on luxuries only. Several respondents recommended a reduction in governmental expenditures."

An interesting commentary on the close division of the experts on the sales tax and personal income tax is that a poll of the street-corner type conducted by a New York afternoon newspaper early in December showed a slightly different result. Of five "average citizens" asked, "Which do you favor, a higher income tax or a federal sales tax to help finance the war?", three favored the higher income tax.

Financial Planning for Municipalities

Last month there was reprinted in these columns the excellent statement on municipal fiscal policies for the war period recently adopted by the executive board of the Municipal Finance Officers Association. While there probably is general agreement in principle with the fifteen "particulars" set forth in the statement, the practical application of some of them will raise some interesting problems.

Probably most debate on the pro-

posals will arise with respect to that "particular" stating: "Postwar plans of a municipality should be so designed that they may be carried out without federal aid. However, if federal aid makes expansion of plans possible, future operating costs as well as original outlays must be considered."

Aside from the fact that it would seem necessary that a consideration be given to future operating costs, regardless of whether a project is financed with federal aid or whether it is financed wholly with local funds, it is highly questionable whether local government can actually finance by itself a sufficient volume of postwar public works to make much of an impression on the employment need which most planners envision for the demobilization and transition period.

Estimates of the volume of construction needed to bridge the transition period range up to $10,000,000,000 annually for several years, and while a part of this is expected to be provided by business and industry and by construction of homes, a considerable part of it obviously must come from large-scale public works. Conceivably, the states can provide $1,000,000,000 a year for a year or so, in view of their great opportunities for highway construction, but public works other than highways will be needed and these must come to a large extent from the cities. During few recent years have new bond offerings by states and local units combined topped $500,000,000, and it would appear doubtful that it is politically possible for the cities, counties, school dstricts, etc., to secure voter approval for much more than $1,000,000,000 annually for several years, if indeed taxpayers can be induced to authorize that much. Funds accumulated in postwar reserves by many units are impressive when viewed separately, but in total they are not likely to provide more than the starting money for the program. Hence, if the local units are to carry anything like their fair share of the total postwar program, in terms of project volume, they will need federal and state assistance to finance it. And cities which make their plans "designed that they may be carried out without federal aid" may find themselves faced with the necessity of making new plans in a hurry.

What Are Reserves?

Another "particular" likely to prove troublesome is No. 11, in which it is hoped that "any plan of postwar state or federal aid should reward and not penalize communities with reserves." The Association appears to recognize that there are other ways of accumulating reserves than by pouring cash into a kitty earmarked "postwar reserve"—for many cities, the mere process of retiring bonds as they mature, instead of indulging in the delusive process of "equalizing" debt service by refunding, may be the best possible way of accumulating reserve fiscal capacity. For other situations, the elimination of long standing operating deficits is a much more satisfactory way of getting "reserves" than any accumulation of small cash accounts would be. Does the Association seriously propose that the amount of cash accumulated and earmarked for postwar capital improvements is to be the criterion of a city's preparedness to carry its share of the postwar works program? If not, it has a job on its hands determining a formula to provide the "rewards" which it hopes federal and state largess will provide to cities with reserves.

It is to be hoped that as the Association, and other bodies recently turning their attention to formulation of principles to guide local units in their preparations for the postwar period,

will presently come to grips with one phase of the problem as yet not adequately developed—a discussion of the *types* of projects to be undertaken. It is one thing to urge the governments to make their plans promptly—it will be another if it turns out that so many of the plans revolve, as they did in the depression of the 1930's, around public auditoriums, monuments, ornamental comfort stations, and the like in communities badly in need of adequate sewerage systems, water distribution and supply systems, and transportation.

Kentucky Tax Collections Decline

In the first four months of 1943-44, Kentucky's tax receipts from all sources have declined 15 per cent as compared with the corresponding 1942-43 period, according to the November 1943 report of the Department of Revenue. Receipts for October alone, however, were slightly ahead of October 1942.

Excise taxes are up 20 per cent for the period, but all other categories are down. Alcoholic beverage taxes are off 49 per cent, road taxes (practically all motor fuel taxes) are down 10 per cent, property taxes are down 7 per cent, and income and death taxes are down 3 per cent.

The increase in the excise tax group is the result of sharp increases in amusement, cigarette, and motor vehicle usage taxes. The increases in the first two are self-explanatory reflecting phenomena common throughout the country, but the increase in motor vehicle use taxes is said to reflect "a rather marked inflow of used cars to Kentucky in recent months," the result of the gasoline situation in the seacoast area which has contributed to a movement of used cars into the central states.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Lowell's First P. R. Election

Cincinnati Uses System for Tenth Time; Yonkers Third

EDITOR'S NOTE. Last month we described one of the eight P. R. elections held on November 2, that in New York City. This month we carry accounts of four others. The first is the story of Lowell's first election under Massachusetts' optional Plan E, the combination of the city manager plan and proportional representation, told by one of those most responsible for the plan's adoption and auspicious start in that city. As editor of the *Lowell Sunday Telegram,* Mr. Maguire gave the plan its first and most vigorous newspaper support and since its approval by the voters has done his utmost to make it a success. In fitting recognition of his enterprise he was recently awarded a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard University and is now studying at Cambridge.

THE city of Lowell emerged from its first P. R. election under the new Plan E charter Tuesday, November 2, 1943, with potentially the best municipal government in many a long year. This is not a matter of opinion but of record, which can readily be sustained by a comparison of a clear majority of the nine men who won Council seats and the six successful in the School Committee fight with the type of individual who has held office in this city over the years.

It is necessary at this time to qualify the new government as "potentially the best" since the two most important steps to make it actually so are yet to be taken. These are the election of a city manager and of a mayor, which

will take place some time after the first of January when the new council is inducted.

The importance of a city manager is self-evident, but in assaying the importance of a mayor in Lowell's new municipal structure, it is perhaps necessary to point out that in this city the mayor will be far more than the figurehead he is in many other cities outside the state under this type of charter. The mayor automatically becomes chairman of the School Committee, and thus makes a seventh vote on that Committee, which has virtually absolute power in the management of the School Department, one arm of municipal government over which the city manager under the laws of Massachusetts has virtually no control.

Even now the machine politicians, who have been twice roundly trounced in their effort to retain control, first when they failed to block the adoption of the Plan E charter at the referendum election a year ago, and a second time this election day just past when they failed to pack the new Council and School Committee with their candidates, are fighting a last-ditch fight on this manager-mayor front. If they can name the new manager and the mayor they will have won, and Plan E will have been defeated for the time being, after all.

Up to a few weeks ago it seemed that these forces might win in the end, at least on the city manager front, because there were no applicants for the post who could be considered even mildly qualified. Thus there was the danger that the job, which in Lowell can pay as high as $20,000 a year, would go by default to some favored footless and handless local son. The fact that the job was a-begging was widely publicized in the newspapers throughout the nation, with the result that queries have begun to pour in, including a few from city managers elsewhere and from bona fide business executives.

Because of the independence of the new council — this writer, knowing their backgrounds, believes there are at least six and possibly seven out of the nine who can be so classified — there is every reason now to expect that they will choose the best man available. This same status of independence can be conceded to at least four of the six school committeemen, who have the equally important task of straightening out a school department generally acknowledged to be the worst in this state. If a good man among the councillors is elected mayor, and therefore chairman of this committee, the independents may yet number five.

A Civic Revolution

All this can be said because it is clear that Lowell's first P. R. election was in the nature of a revolution. All the old concepts were completely upset. The voters stepped clear across the party and racial lines which politicians under the old partisan primary and ward election system were so adept in manipulating to their own advantage.

For example, in this city whose registered voters are overwhelmingly of the Democratic party, five of the men elected to Council were Republicans, four were Democrats. The voters ignored those old and odorous red herrings of race and religion, too, and proved that when given the chance they vote on the only real issue—fitness for office. One evidence of this is the fact that four of the new councillors are what are genetically known hereabouts as "Yankees," a decided minority in this city's life. Four are Irish-Americans, so-called, and one of French extraction.

This writer for one sees hope for the future in the apparent submergence of these alleged racial and religious discriminations which history sadly proves to have been the bane of the city's politics, being chiefly responsible for the arousing of ancient antagonisms to obscure genuine issues. In passing it might be remarked that for "Lowell" you can read "Massachusetts," since the same appeals have brought state politics to a low level many times in the past.

New Council and School Committee

Now for a quick glance at the nine men who were elected as Lowell's first Plan E council. They are, in order of election:

1. J. Joseph Sweeney, present mayor, councillor and state representative; a building wrecker and horse trader (literally) by profession.

2. Woodbury F. Howard, 38, lawyer and co-chairman of the first Plan E Charter Committee.

3. Leo A. Roy, 42, superintendent of maintenance for a large local mill and present city councillor. Publicly favored charter change a year ago.

4. J. Russell Scott, 39, owner and operator of a local hardware business.

5. Water E. Clement, 45, purchasing agent for the Aberthaw Construction Company. Was an ardent worker for the adoption of the charter a year ago last fall.

6. William C. Geary, about 50, head of the local soldiers' relief department.

7. Maurice D. Condrey, 42, present minority member of the Board of Health and job estimator for the Courier-Citizen Company, large printing establishment with local and Chicago plants.

8. Bart J. Callery, Jr., 32, local attorney, present councillor and state representative. Favored charter change in last year's election.

9. Harold W. Hartwell, 35, manager of a local retail store and present councillor.

The school committee:

1. Eldred L. Field, 27, local attorney, and one of the original Plan E Committee.

2. Henry Beaudry, in mid-40's, local restaurant owner.

3. George W. Murray, in 40's, chemist and member of present School Committee.

4. Mrs. Julia R. Martin, 46, housewife with business experience before marriage.

5. John P. McDonough, around 30, brother of a present school committeeman who is in the army.

6. Gerald F. Cronin, 36, traffic manager with manufacturing company.

Public comment on the street after the announcement of the result expressed disappointment over the return of four of the present City Council to office, with the election in addition of a city employee. That, however, is a very narrow view and was broadened considerably by a more careful weighing of results. For instance, as noted in the summary above, two of these councillors, Callery and Roy, publicly came out in favor of the charter change a year ago when their stand was generally thought to be fatal to their political futures. In addition, they are known locally as staunchly fearless and independent, as is also Hartwell, a third councillor who won re-election.

There was some point, however, to the astonishment over the re-election of Mayor Sweeney on the very first count and by the largest vote of any candidate, since he had previously been exposed in a series of articles in the *Lowell Sunday Telegram* as owing thousands of dollars in unpaid taxes accrued through his building wrecking operations, and his pay as mayor, at

the insistence of the *Telegram*, was attached last April by the city treasurer and tax collector, and is still so attached every week.

But again, on the credit side of the ledger, we find that three of the new councillors were absolute newcomers to politics, namely Clement, Howard, and Scott, and another had never held elective office before, namely Condrey. Clement, in fact, espoused a cause supposedly the equivalent of political suicide when he ran on a personal platform calling for a manager from afar and a pegging of the council salary at not in excess of $2,000, rather than the top of $4,000 allowed by law. He was elected very handily.

What is really astonishing and likewise indicative, at least to this writer, is that more of the present council (thirteen of the fifteen ran) didn't get in, and that all the old-timers, including four former mayors and innumerable and consistent also-rans, faded early out of the race.

Effective Voting under Difficulties

It adds to the amazement of the observer to remember that the Lowell voters put these men into office under the most difficult of conditions. The near-fatal thing was the absolute lack of anything resembling a citizens' committee, as formed in other cities, for the advancement of a good government slate. Attempts to form such a committee were made in Lowell all during last summer and fall. They failed because of old-fashioned political thinking and downright fear.

With 100 candidates in the running for the nine Council seats and 31 for the six School Committee posts, the voter was presented with a truly formidable choice. Worse, there were definite and powerful drives to put stooges into office.

The *Sunday Telegram* attempted to assist by short factual biographies of the candidates repeated in several issues in the weeks before election, and compiled from information gained from questionnaires. Some 70 per cent of the candidates responded to the questionnaire; the 30 per cent who didn't had little to report anyway.

In the absence of any local good government slate chosen by a representative committee, this writer made bold on Sunday, October 31, with the election two days away, to publish his own personal choices for Council and Committee in a special story. He named fourteen choices for Council and nine for School Committee. Seven of the nine councillors elected were among these choices and four of the six school committeemen. This is presented not to claim credit for the results but to underscore the writer's belief that the voters used the freedom of the new system with discrimination and gratifying effect.

Only 2.9 per cent of the ballots cast for council were invalid or blank — 855 out of 29,541 — and 4.7 per cent of those cast for School Committee — 1,375 out of 29,559.

Still more remarkable is the fact that the large number of candidates did not prevent most of the voters from making their votes effective in actually electing councillors. With 100 candidates to choose from nearly half the voters picked candidates with enough popularity to win as their very first choices — 13,514, or 47 per cent of the 28,686 valid ballots — and the others marked enough choices so that 83 per cent — 23,867 out of 28,688 — helped elect someone for whom they had voted.

In the School Committee election, to which less attention was paid, the record of effective voting was not quite so good but still creditable. Of the 28,184 who cast valid School Committee ballots, 11,517, or 41 per cent, saw their

first choices elected and 21,487, 76 per cent, helped elect some choice to the Committee.

Lowell is off to a good start, but we cannot afford to be complacent. Political attacks on the new system may confidently be expected, and in the next election, with less novelty to focus public opinion, we could not expect with so little effort to get such good results. The only safe course is to form a strong, militant, and ever-working citizens' committee. There is no other way to be sure of holding the ground gained, none certainly by which to progress farther.

FREDERICK W. MAGUIRE, *Editor*
Lowell Sunday Telegram

Cincinnati's Charter Committee Reverses Downward Trend

EDITOR'S NOTE. The writer of this article, Mrs. Elizabeth Reid, granddaughter of Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio and widow of the distinguished surgeon, Dr. Mont R. Reid, is the first woman elected to the Cincinnati City Council since its membership was reduced from 32 to nine in the charter revision of 1924. She was elected this fall on the ticket of the City Charter Committee, which led the successful campaign for the adoption of P. R. and the manager plan of government twenty years ago and has stayed actively in the field as a municipal good government party ever since. Mrs. Reid is a vice-president of the Cincinnati League of Women Voters and has been for four years chairman of the women's division of the City Charter Committee. She was supported for election by all three of the city's newspapers.

On November 2 Cincinnati held its tenth P. R. election. There were twenty candidates in the field, nine organization Republicans, nine candidates of the independent City Charter Committee, and two unattached independents. The Republicans based their entire campaign on national issues although there are many problems of pressing importance in Cincinnati. During the middle of the campaign, the City Manager, Col. C. O. Sherrill, announced his intention of resigning on January 1. It was obvious that this election would determine which group would choose the next manager, and the Charter candidates campaigned largely on that issue, with emphasis also on the need of a new city plan.

The results of the election were interesting. The Republicans won five seats in the new Council, the Charter candidates four. The significance, however, is that the Charter Committee reversed the downward trend which has persisted throughout its existence. In each election heretofore it has received a smaller percentage of the first-choice vote than in the previous election. In 1941 the Charter candidates totaled 32 per cent of the vote, but in 1943 jumped to 40 per cent without the top vote getter of 1941, Charles P. Taft. It seems reasonable to assume that a great many voters realized the many problems facing Cincinnati as a city, and voted on the municipal issues rather than on national ones. Cincinnati is very Republican on national questions and was, in fact, the only large city in the country carried by Willkie in 1940. Of the four Charter councilmen elected in 1943, two are Democrats and two independent Republicans, so that on national lines, the Council has seven Republicans.

One argument which is often heard against P. R. is that it tends to split the major parties and, by representing small groups with selfish interests, makes cohesive action impossible. Cincinnati has had P. R. for twenty years and in that time has elected unattached independents only four times and never more than one at any election. In the last two elections no such independents were elected, and the two

original municipal parties made up all of both councils.

The 1941 Council was composed of five Republicans and four Charterites, but due to the resignation of Charles P. Taft and his replacement by the Republican majority, the Charter Committee went into this campaign with only three incumbents, the Republicans having six. The only change in the personnel of Council resulting from the 1943 election is that the writer replaces one of the present Republican majority and returns the council to a five-four division rather than a six-three.

The ninth councilman reached his quota without needing transfers from the last candidate to be eliminated, and 77 per cent of the voters saw their first choice elected. Ninety per cent of the voters helped elect someone, though if the figures were available they would undoubtedly prove that a much larger percentage saw someone for whom they voted elected. The invalid vote was 4.87 per cent, including blanks.

The new Council will have many vital problems before it, the first one being the appointment of a city manager. The Republicans with their majority have, of course, the responsibility, and have announced that the Charter councilmen will not be consulted, on that issue at least. The Charter Committee with its minority of four will be in a strong position, and if the Organization misuses its responsibility the results of the 1945 election may well return the Charter Committee to control.

ELIZABETH CASSATT REID
Cincinnati City Council

Good Government Continues in Yonkers

In Yonkers, which adjoins New York City on the north and has a similar cosmopolitan population, the results of the P.R. election this fall were generally acclaimed. The only dissent to be heard was from politicians of the old school.

In a long editorial entitled "The People Approve Good Government" the Yonkers *Herald Statesman* of November 9 rejoiced that "the Yonkers electorate has proved that it recognizes good government when it gets it" and "that they understand and like the special system of voting for Council by proportional representation."

The independent City Manager League ticket elected three out of five, the same three who chose City Manager William A. Walsh and have been controlling city policies since Thomas B. Sheridan, independent Democrat, was chosen in a P.R. vacancy recount a year ago last summer. Curtiss E. Frank, a law associate of former U. S. Solicitor-General Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., led the ticket with a full quota of first choices. Mr. Frank was on the Republican as well as the City Manager League ticket. Next to reach the quota, both on the same transfer, were Mrs. Edith P. Welty, City Manager League independent Republican, and Mr. Sheridan.

The last two elected were both regular Democrats, Vice-Mayor James A. Sullivan and John J. Whalen. Mr. Whalen, a business man with a good reputation, replaced Mayor Benjamin F. Barnes. Mr. Barnes was elected two years ago on the City Manager League ticket, but promptly joined forces with the Democratic organization members to turn their minority into a temporary Council majority in return for their support of him for mayor.[1] This year Mr. Barnes was on the regular

[1]The mayor is not the chief executive under the city manager plan, but the president of the Council and ceremonial head of the city.

Democratic ticket, but was defeated.

All five of the Councilmen-elect reached the quota sufficient for election before the last candidate was declared defeated. Under a charter amendment adopted at the same election the quota was calculated from the vote actually cast as in most other P.R. cities instead of being fixed arbitrarily in the charter at 10,000.

The five Councilmen were chosen from a total of only twelve candidates: four City Managerites including one also on the Republican ticket, two other Republicans, five on the Democratic ticket, and one American Labor party candidate.

All the results secured at the original count were subject to adjustment when a few ballots came in from soldiers overseas. Fortunately the margin by which each candidate was elected or defeated was large enough so that there was no chance of any change being made in the order of defeat or in the candidates elected. Figures in this article are those for the original count without the soldier vote adjustments.

A Recount for Mayor

For the first time in any public election the regular P.R. ballots for Council were recounted according to the Hare system of majority preferential voting to determine the people's choice for Mayor. This was done under a second charter amendment drafted by a charter commission last summer[2] and adopted on the same day as the voting for Councilmen. It resulted in the selection of Mr. Frank over the Democratic leader, Mr. Sullivan, by just about the same three-to-two margin that the City Manager League will have over the Democratic organization in the Council. The final vote, after the lowest candidates had been dropped one by one and all the ballots had been sorted into those that preferred Frank to Sullivan and those that preferred Sullivan to Frank, was Frank 21,688, Sullivan 14,906. The other voters had expressed no choice between the two.

Mr. Sullivan, as the runner-up, automatically became Vice-Mayor. The amendment was deliberately drawn with the idea of making the leader of the opposition normally the Vice-Mayor and so inviting the coöperation of majority and minority so far as it might prove feasible.

Since the first step of the mayoralty recount is to sort out all the Council ballots according to their earliest choices for any of the five elected Councilmen, this method gives a valuable piece of information not hitherto available in P.R. elections, namely how many voters saw at least one of their choices elected to the Council. In Yonkers this fall the number was 96 per cent of all who cast valid ballots. The variety of representation always secured under P.R. is such that even those who do not technically help elect anyone usually see someone they approve elected by others.[3]

The 44,354 Council ballots were counted in three days by a bipartisan force of about fifty counters under the direction of the editor of this department. An extra day was required for the election of the Mayor.

There were 41,872 valid Council ballots, 2,048 invalid and 434 blank. Thus the invalid ballots constituted 4.7 per cent of the ballots marked. Of the valid ballots 27,091, or 65 per cent, saw their first choices elected; 34,895 or 83

[2] See this department for September.

[3] The only other election for which comparable figures are available is the Ashtabula, Ohio, P.R. election of 1919. The ballots in that election were specially examined after the election was over, and it was found that 86 per cent saw a first or second choice elected, 91 per cent saw one of their first three choices elected, and 93 per cent some choice.

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per cent (that is, five full quotas of 6,979 each) helped elect members to the Council; and 40,211, or 96 per cent, saw one or more of their choices elected.

For Yonkers' effective and intelligent use of P.R. the Yonkers *Herald Statesman* deserves a large share of the credit. It did a fine piece of work in publicizing the election method, the election issues, and the candidates. During the count it followed up with daily front page stories, giving all the details of the count as they occurred—an invaluable educational help for the future. And in repeated editorials it brought out the significance for good government of the results achieved and the part played by the election method in securing them. On November 12 it analyzed some of the transfers in an editorial entitled "How P.R. Looses the Voters' Shackles," in which it remarked: "P.R. guarantees voter independence. And worse yet for the political machines, the voters know it does, and act accordingly."

Boulder Election Uncontested

The fourteenth P.R. election of City Councilmen in Boulder, Colorado, was unique in the annals of American P.R. elections, for only three candidates presented themselves for the three places to be filled.[1]

The only other issue to be decided at the election was a referendum on an increase in the city's tax levy limit, which was approved by a narrow margin, and the total vote was naturally light—the lightest since 1921.

On the first count L. W. Cumberford, vice-president of the National State Bank, who has been a member of the Council under P.R. for eighteen years, was elected with 472 votes and Elmore Peterson, dean of the Colorado University Business College, a newcomer to the Council, with 258. Councilman Thomas J. Peyton, a local insurance man, received 247 first choices, one short of the quota, and was elected by the first ballot of Mr. Cumberford's surplus that was taken for transfer. That completed the election and nc further second choices had to be examined.

The count was completed between about 8:30 and 9:45 on the evening of election. The counting staff consisted of the seven Councilmen who were not candidates, City Manager H. C. McClintock, and seven assistants.

[1]Boulder has a Council of nine members. It elects three Councilmen every second year for a term of six years.

Other Elections Next Time

P.R. elections were also held November 2 in New York, whose results were discussed at length last month, and in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Toledo and Hamilton, Ohio. The significant results in these last three cities have been held over till next month for reasons of space.

Alfred Gray of England

With deep regret we record the death on October 28 of Captain Alfred J. Gray, formerly assistant secretary for many years and more recently joint secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society. Captain Gray was one of the foremost authorities on P.R. He has been the constant collaborator and invaluable assistant of Mr. John H. Humphreys, who is affectionately recognized in all quarters of the globe as the world leader in efforts for electoral justice as the basis for democratic institutions. Captain Gray's loss will be felt far beyond the borders of his own country.

County and Township
Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Civic Group Urges Reforms for Cook County

Cites Some Measures Needed for Its Efficient Government

THE Civic Federation of Chicago has addressed the Board of Commissioners of Cook County, Illinois, through its *Bulletins* urging upon the commissioners a number of reforms in county government. The following recommendations are listed by the Federation as urgently needed at this time:

1. A department of maintenance and operation, authorized by the General Assembly last year, should be created immediately because it would permit unification of equipment and material orders, establishment of roving crews of skilled workmen to do necessary repair work, centralized maintenance and operation of all county elevators, and centralized supervision of engineers, oilers, sewer men, watchmen, and similar personnel.

2. A department of central services, also authorized by the General Assembly last year, should be created immediately to centralize control of certain mechanical office equipment now located in the Switchboard Division, Central Photographic and Blue Print Division, Addressograph and Tax Machine Division, and certain units in the County Auditor's office such as the Tabulation Department and the Divisions of Tabulation Control, Key Punch, Machine Accounting and Recordat.

3. The Federation congratulates the County Board for progress achieved toward the installation of the Department of Purchases which also was authorized by the General Assembly last year. It urges that a board of standardization be appointed now in order that such board might begin immediately to classify the requirements of the county government regarding supplies, material, and equipment, to standardize the various qualities, sizes, and varieties, and to prepare, adopt, and promulgate written specifications describing the standards adopted.

4. The Federation recommends that the position of superintendent of public service be abolished since practically all of his functions are being transferred to the new departments.

5. The adoption of a position classification and compensation plan to be administered either by a new agency or by the Civil Service Commission is urged on the County Board. The Federation warns, however, that unless competent help is employed the plan will be worthless.

6. It is suggested that the care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children be transferred to the Chicago Welfare Administration and similar agencies in surrounding towns because such action would result in no harm to the children and it would permit the county to adjust its precarious financial situation.

7. And lastly, the Federation urges that strictest economy be practiced by the county, and in this connection it recommends abolition of the highway police force.

Supreme Court Interprets Statute in 'Kickback' Decision

The Supreme Court of the state of Washington has decided county officials may receive "donations" or "contributions" from their employees, although "rebates" constitute violation of the law.

The Court rejected the argument of

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Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Constitution-Making in a Democracy. Theory and Practice in New York State. By Vernon A. O'Rourke and Douglas W. Campbell. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. xiii, 286 pp. $2.75.

This is a case study of a fundamental American institution, the state constitutional convention. The discussion is based on the experience of the New York State Convention of 1938, which provides an excellent opportunity to make an analytical and systematic study. The volume begins with a preliminary analysis of the theory and practice of constitution-making, with some attention to its historical evolution. Concluding chapters assess the value of the constitutional convention process to representative government and suggest ways of strengthening it.

American Political Parties — Their Natural History. By Wilfred E. Binkley. New York City, Alfred A. Knopf, 1943. xii, 419 pp. $3.75.

How did political parties first arise? How were new parties germinated? How did they grow? How did they come to an end? These are some of the questions which the author undertakes to answer. The book traces the formation of group opinion from the making of the constitution down to the present, and the coalescing of group opinion into a political party under the hand of the politician. It contains much of interest on the kind of statesmen and leaders which the exigencies of party politics have produced.

The Book of the States: 1943-1944. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1943. xii, 508 pp. $4.

This is the fifth issue of the standard reference manual on the 48 states, compiled and published biennially by the Council of State Governments. The book contains information on state organization, personnel, dates of legislative sessions, etc. It reports the news about the states during the past two years, with special emphasis on wartime activities, the work of defense councils, and federal-state coöperation in the war effort. Over 50 pages of reference material and tables are devoted to taxation and finance.

There are more than a hundred tables covering certain state laws, the number and payrolls of state employees, distribution of major war supply contracts, qualifications for voting, etc.

A roster of state administrative officers, classified by function, title, and agency duties, and a bibliography on problems of state government complete the volume.

The Cabinet Politician. The Postmasters General, 1829-1909. By Dorothy Ganfield Fowler. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1943. xi, 344 pp. $3.75.

When a newly-elected President chooses his cabinet he usually appoints the chairman of his party's national committee as Postmaster General. How long has this been customary? To what extent has the Post Office Department been involved in party politics? These questions and numerous others are answered in this story of the Postmaster General's office and of the men who have filled it from 1829 down to 1909.

While primarily appealing to students of American history and government, especially those interested in the civil service reform movement, the book will also appeal to those interest-

ed in the background of many of our political practices.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Constitutional Convention Manuals

Manuals on **The Amending Procedure and the Initiative and Referendum,** by Paul G. Steinbicker and Martin L. Faust; **The Bill of Rights and Suffrage and Elections,** by Harry B. Kies and Carl A. McCandless; **County Government,** by William L. Bradshaw; **Education,** by Neil C. Aslin and William L. Bradshaw; **The Executive Article,** by Martin L. Faust; **Federal-State Relations,** by J. G. Heinberg; and **The Legislative Article,** by Martin L. Faust. Prepared for the Missouri Constitutional Convention. Jefferson City, Missouri, 1943.

Hospitals

The Hospital in Modern Society. Edited by Arthur C. Bachmeyer and Gerhard Hartman. New York City, The Commonwealth Fund, 1943. xiv, 768 pp. $5.

Postwar Planning

After the War 1918-1920. Military and Economic Demobilization of the United States—Its Effect upon Employment and Income. By Paul A. Samuelson and Everett E. Hagen. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1943. 45 pp.

Puget Sound Region—War and Postwar Development. Report of Puget Sound Regional Planning Commission and Washington State Planning Council in coöperation with National Resources Planning Board. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1943. viii, 160 pp.

Reconversion of Industry to Peace. Report by Officers of the Agriculture, Business and Labor Committees on National Policy. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1943. iv, 24 pp. 25 cents.

A Selected List of Planning Primers and Publicity Manuals. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning of Harvard University, 1943. 4 pp.

The States and Postwar America. A Radio Discussion. By John Bricker, J. Melville Broughton, Herbert O'Conor, Leverett Saltonstall, and Maynard Krueger. Chicago, University of Chicago, 1943. 27 pp. 10 cents.

Things We Need in Cleveland. Presented by the City Planning Commission. Cleveland, 1943. 41 pp. illus.

World Needs for U. S. Food and Fiber. By John D. Black. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1943. 71 pp. 50 cents.

Public Opinion

The Greatest Needs of Atlanta and Georgia. Summary of Opinions. Atlanta, Chamber of Commerce, 1943. 31 pp.

Street Lighting

Safe Streets at Night . . . in Wartime and Thereafter. New York City, Street and Highway Lighting Safety Bureau, 1943. 28 pp.

Wartime Lighting and Safety. By Edwin Vennard. New York City, Street and Highway Lighting Safety Bureau, 1943. 28 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Federal Taxation. Treasury Proposals for 1944. Chamber Committee on Federal Finance Testifying before Committee on Ways and Means October 12, 1943. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1943. 62 pp.

Financial Statistics of Cities Having Populations over 100,000, 1941. Vol. 3: Statistical Compendium. By Bureau

of the Census. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943. iv, 160 pp. 65 cents.

Manuals of Instruction. Chicago, The Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, November 1943. 28 pp. 50 cents.

State Finances 1942. Vol. 3: Statistical Compendium. By Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943.

State Tax Legislation in 1943. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. New York City, Tax Institute, 1943. 14 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Literature in 1943. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. New York City, Tax Institute, 1943. 11 pp. 25 cents.

Trade Barriers

Are the United States United. Detroit, Fruehauf Trailer Company, 1943. 23 pp.

Traffic

Anticipating Problems of Postwar Traffic. Suggestions for Handling the Return of Congestion. New York City, Regional Plan Association, 1943. 8 pp.

Summary Report — Street and Highway Traffic Section of the 32nd National Safety Congress and Exposition. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1943. 21 pp.

Transit Fares

The Record of Transit Fares in Thirty-nine American Cities. New York City, Citizens Budget Commission, 1943. 25 pp.

War

Directory of War Agencies. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1943. 77 pp.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from Page 53)

the defense that because the county and not the county official was the employer, any payments made to the official by employees under his supervision did not constitute rebates to the employer as prohibited by law. The Court declared that since the official could hire and dismiss the employees, it was clearly the intent of the legislature to prohibit any compulsory payments from them to him even though such funds did not find their way back to the county treasury.

However, the Court ruled that the statute did not prohibit all contributions to employer from employees. The legislature could have enacted such a prohibition if this had been its intent. Hence, even if the county treasurer had accepted money from the employees he supervised in order to pay his campaign indebtedness, as charged by the prosecutor, it still had to be demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Court that compulsion was used. In the absence of such compulsion, the statute permits employees to make contributions to any cause or person that suits their fancy.

In the case under review, the treasurer of King County, Washington, was acquitted because the prosecution had not proved that any compulsory contributions had been exacted.

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